This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

3 2044 019 324 185

L Soc 4698.10

Harvard College Library

FROM

The University.

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUMES 1–3
1908–1911

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA
RENO, NEVADA

L Soc 4698.10

BOUND 2 APR 1912

The articles that appear in the University of Nevada Studies are contributed principally by the instructors in the University of Nevada, but contributions from other sources are not excluded.

JAMES EDWARD CHURCH, JR.,
CARL ALFRED JACOBSON,
HERBERT WYNFORD HILL,
Committee on Publications

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

CONTENTS

1:1 (January 1, 1908) PAGE

Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Elizabethan Drama . . 1–59
By Herbert Wynford Hill

1:2 (October 1, 1908)

Adolf Furtwängler 61

The Identity of the Child in Virgil's *Pollio* . . . 67

On Virgil's *Aeneid* i, 249: 86
placida compostus pace quiescit

A Defense of Propertius iv, 3, 47, 48: 92–98
nec me tardarent Scythiae iuga, cum pater altas Africus in glaciem frigore nectit aquas
By J. E. Church, Jr.

2:1 (January 1, 1909)

The Preparation, Certification, Employment, and Compensation of Teachers in Nevada 1–46
By Romanzo Adams

2:2 (January 1, 1910)

The College Curricula: A Study of Required and Elective Courses in American Colleges and Universities . 1–35
By George Ordahl

2:3 (October 1, 1910)

La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama. Part I 1–56
By Herbert Wynford Hill

3:1 (January 1, 1911)

The Identity of the Child in Virgil's *Pollio:* an Afterword 1
BY J. E. CHURCH, JR.

Sex-Prophesying among the Ancients: Its Basis . . 16
BY J. E. CHURCH, JR.

Note.—The Identity of the Mother in Martial vi, 3 . 28–31
BY J. E. CHURCH, JR., AND J. C. WATSON

3:2 (October 1, 1911)

La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama. Part II 57–158
BY HERBERT WYNFORD HILL

INDEX

ADAMS, ROMANZO. Preparation, Certification, Employment, and Compensation of Teachers in Nevada 2:1: 1– 46

Child in Virgil's *Pollio* (J. E. Church, Jr.) . . 1:2:67– 85

CHURCH, JAMES EDWARD, JR. Adolf Furtwängler . 1:2:61– 66
Defense of Propertius iv, 3, 47, 48 . . . 1:2:92– 98
Identity of the Child in Virgil's *Pollio* . . 1:2:67– 85
Same. Afterword 3:1: 1– 15
On Virgil's *Aeneid* i, 249 . . . . . 1:2:86– 91
Sex-Prophesying among the Ancients: Its Basis 3:1:16– 27

CHURCH, JAMES EDWARD, JR., AND WATSON, JOHN CALVIN. Identity of the Mother in Martial vi, 3 . . . . . 3:1:28– 31

College Curricula (George Ordahl) 2:2: 1– 35

Curricula in American Colleges and Universities (George Ordahl) 2:2: 1– 35

Defense of Propertius iv, 3, 47, 48 (J. E. Church, Jr.) 1:2:92– 98

Elizabethan Drama, Sidney's *Arcadia* and (H. W. Hill) 1:1: 1– 59

Furtwängler, Adolf (J. E. Church, Jr.) 1:2:61– 66

HILL, HERBERT WYNFORD. La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama. Part I 2:3: 1– 56
Same. Part II 3:2:57–158
Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Elizabethan Drama . 1:1: 1– 59

Identity of the Child in Virgil's *Pollio* (J. E. Church, Jr.) 1:2:67– 85
Same. Afterword 3:1: 1– 15

Identity of the Mother in Martial vi, 3 (J. E. Church, Jr., and J. C. Watson) 3:1:28– 31

La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama (H. W. Hill). Part I 2:3: 1– 56
Same. Part II 3:2:57–158

Martial vi, 3, Identity of the Mother in (J. E. Church, Jr., and J. C. Watson) 3:1:28– 31

Mother in Martial, vi, 3 (J. E. Church, Jr., and J. C. Watson) 3:1:28– 31

ORDAHL, GEORGE. College Curricula 2:2: 1– 35

Preparation, Certification, Employment, and Compensation of Teachers in Nevada (Romanzo Adams) 2:1: 1– 46

Propertius iv, 3, 47, 48 (J. E. Church, Jr.) . . . 1:2:92– 8

Restoration Drama, La Calprenède's Romances and (H. W. Hill). Part I 2:3: 1– 56
Same. Part II 3:2:57–158

Sex-Prophesying among the Ancients: Its Basis (J. E. Church, Jr.) 3:1:16– 27

Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Elizabethan Drama (H. W. Hill) 1:1: 1– 59

Teachers in Nevada (Romanzo Adams) 2:1: 1– 46

Virgil's *Aeneid* i, 249 (J. E. Church, Jr.) 1:2:86– 91

Virgil's *Pollio*, Identity of the Child in (J. E. Church, Jr.) 1:2:67– 85

WATSON, JOHN CALVIN. *See* Church, James Edward, Jr., and 3:1:28– 31

L Sur 4692.10
(P.

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA BULLETIN

VOL. II JANUARY 1, 1908 No. 1

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME I, NUMBER 1
1908

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

NOTE.—The University of Nevada publications are offered in exchange for certain periodicals and for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities, and libraries. For sample copies address the University Library, Reno, Nevada.

Entered in the Post-Office at Reno, Nevada, as second-class matter, under Act of Congress, July 16, 1894

Anal.

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME I, NUMBER 1
1908

Reno.
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
APR 28 1908
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
The University

The articles that appear in the University of Nevada Studies are contributed principally by the instructors in the University of Nevada, but contributions from other sources are not excluded.

JAMES EDWARD CHURCH, JR.,
ROMANZO ADAMS,
HERBERT WYNFORD HILL,
Committee on Publications

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

CONTENTS

Sidney's *Arcadia* and the Elizabethan Drama
By Herbert Wynford Hill

SIDNEY'S *ARCADIA* AND THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA[1]

By Herbert Wynford Hill

PART I: THE *ARCADIA*

THE PLOT OF THE *ARCADIA*[2]

The antecedent action relating to the principal characters is well scattered throughout the first two books of the *Arcadia*[3] and is introduced in various ways. In the case of the heroes, each tells his own story or the story of the other; in the case of the heroines, Kalander, an Arcadian lord, relates their story to Musidorus, one of the heroes. It runs as follows:

Basilius, king of Arcadia, though blessed with station, honor, and a most charming household, has retired to a forest, where he lives in the utmost seclusion. The reason for this most extraordinary procedure is to be found in an oracle from Delphi which reads:

> Thy elder care shall from thy careful face
> By princely mean be stol'n, and yet not lost;
> Thy younger shall with nature's bliss embrace
> An uncouth love, which nature hateth most;

[1] This study is the first of a series of studies concerned with the influence of types of novels on the seventeenth-century drama. The next in the series will be the influence of the heroic romance as represented by la Calprenède. To Dr. Frederic Ives Carpenter, who suggested this line of research, and under whose direction the work has been pursued, I wish to express my sincere thanks.

[2] In citing pages of the *Arcadia* I refer to the J. Hain Friswell edition, published by Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1898. The text has been carefully collated with that of Dr. Sommer's photographic facsimile edition of the quarto edition of 1590 (London, Kegan Paul, 1891), and such divergences are noted as would appear to affect the conclusions reached.

[3] Pp. 18-23, 128-33, 147-64, 190, etc.

Both they themselves unto such two shall wed,
Who at thy bier, as at a bar, shall plead
Why thee, a living man, they had made dead.
In thine own seat a foreign state shall sit;
And ere that all these blows thy head do hit,
Thou, with thy wife, adultery shall commit.[1]

Deeply stirred by this oracle, Basilius does not feel secure even in his seclusion and uses every caution to guard carefully his two daughters, who are "beyond measure excellent in all gifts allotted to reasonable creatures." Thus he keeps constant watch over Philoclea, the younger, and entrusts the elder, Pamela, to the care of Dametas, "a loutish clown such that you never saw so ill-favoured a vizer."

The events which led to the arrival of the heroes in Arcadia are as follows: Musidorus, prince of Thessaly, and Pyrocles, prince of Macedon, form early in life a close friendship; as Sidney puts it:

Among which nothing I so much delight to recount as the memorable friendship that grew up betwixt the two princes, such as made them more like than the likeness of all other virtues, and made them more near one to the other than the nearness of their blood could aspire to, which I think grew the faster, and the faster was tied between them, by reason that Musidorus being elder by three or four years, it was neither so great a difference in age as did take away the delight in society, and yet by the difference there was taken away the occasion of childish contentions, till they had both past over the humour of such contentions. For Pyrocles bore reverence full of love to Musidorus, and Musidorus had a delight full of love in Pyrocles.[2]

These friends, at an early age, set out to join the king of Macedon, who is besieging Byzantium. A storm arises and they are wrecked on the coast of Phrygia. A series

[1] P. 230. [2] P. 150.

of adventures follows in which they repeatedly save each other's life, kill giants, and rescue beautiful maidens. Now they set sail for Greece and are again shipwrecked, this time on the Laconian coast. The story of the *Arcadia* now begins.

Book I.—Musidorus, grief-stricken, sees Pyrocles carried away by pirates. Guided to the house of Kalander, an Arcadian lord, by shepherds, he is hospitably received. One evening while they are at supper news is received that Clitophon, the son of Kalander, has been captured by the Helots. Musidorus undertakes his rescue, and discovers in the leader of the Helots his lost friend, Pyrocles, who has attained this eminence through a remarkable series of adventures. United again, the two friends live in supreme happiness at the house of the grateful Kalander. Pyrocles, however, soon begins to manifest the greatest uneasiness and finally disappears. Musidorus sets out in search of him and finally runs across him disguised as an Amazon. Pyrocles explains that he is now Zelmane and very much in love with Philoclea, whom he rapturously describes. By virtue of his disguise, he has been able to establish himself as a friend in the house of Basilius, where he has constant opportunity to behold the object of his adoration. Musidorus soon catches sight of Pamela and falls desperately in love. In order to become a suitor, he disguises himself as a shepherd and skilfully forces himself into the services of Dametas, who, it will be remembered, is Pamela's guardian. At a fortunate moment, a lion and a bear rush from the forest and offer themselves up on the altar of our heroes' fame.

Book II.—Their prowess thus established, Pyrocles and Musidorus now make rapid progress in their suits. Both, however, are seriously handicapped: Pyrocles is

pestered by the attentions of Basilius, who, failing to penetrate the disguise, has fallen in love with him, and jealously watched by Gynicia, who, penetrating the disguise, has become infatuated with him, and who naturally looks upon her daughter as a dangerous rival; Musidorus is held in scorn because of his lowly station. Nevertheless, each pursues his suit with undaunted ardor. Pyrocles by tricking Basilius finally attains conference with Philoclea and confesses his real character. She, who has already dared wish "either herself or Zelmane (Pyrocles) a man that there might succeed a blessed marriage between them,"[1] is overwhelmed with joy at finding her wish so miraculously realized and quickly yields to his eager suit. "Dost thou love me? Keep me then, still worthy to be loved," is her answer.[2] Musidorus by a clever use of Mopsa as the apparent object of his affections discloses his love and station to Pamela.

Book III.—Pamela, although she has long loved Musidorus in secret, is much slower than her more impulsive sister in disclosing her affections.

> But at last, finding not only by his speeches and letters, but by the pitiful oration of his languishing behaviour, and the easily deciphered character of a sorrowful face, that despair began now to threaten him destruction, she grew content both to pity him and let him see she pitied him, as well by making her own beautiful beams to thaw away the former iciness of her behaviour, as by entertaining his discourse, whensoever he did use them, in the third person of Musidorus, to so far a degree that in the end she said that, if she had been the princess whom that disguised prince had virtuously loved, she would have requited his faith with faithful affection; finding in her heart that nothing could so heartily love as virtue, with many more words to the same sense of noble virtue and chaste plainness.[3]

[1] P. 137. [2] P. 189. [3] P. 244.

Cecropia soon disturbs the Arcadian affairs by capturing Pamela, Philoclea, and Zelmane, and imprisoning them in her castle. Basilius raises forces and besieges the castle. Battles and numerous single combats follow, in which Amphialus, Cecropia's son, especially distinguishes himself.[1] The captives are finally freed by the violent death of Cecropia, and return to Basilius.

Our heroes now renew their wiles to capture the maidens. Musidorus hoodwinks Dametas and elopes with Pamela. Pyrocles brings Basilius and Gynicia together at a certain cave at midnight by promising each an assignation. Basilius does not recognize his wife and so in the accomplishing of his pleasure fulfils the last part of the Delphic oracle. Gynicia has brought with her to the cave a potion which she believes will excite love, but which really is a powerful sleeping-potion. Getting thirsty Basilius drinks this and falls to the ground apparently dead. Meanwhile, Pyrocles, freed from the watchful parents, visits Philoclea in her chamber and attempts to persuade her to elope. While discussing the proposition they fall asleep.

Book IV.— Confusion reigns supreme in Arcadia. Gynicia accuses herself of the murder of her husband and is taken into custody. Pyrocles is discovered in Philoclea's chamber and put under arrest. Musidorus and Pamela, who have wasted much valuable time in writing verses on trees, are overtaken and brought back; he is imprisoned.

Book V.— Gynicia, Pyrocles, and Musidorus are brought up for trial before Euarchus, who arrives at this

[1] Here ends the story as it appeared in the quarto of 1590. The remainder was compiled by the countess of Pembroke from loose sheets of Sidney's manuscript. In 1621 Sir William Alexander added a supplement to Book III; and in 1627 R[ichard] B[eling] added a sixth book.

time on a visit to his old friend, Basilius. After carefully weighing the evidence Euarchus condemns Gynicia to be buried alive, Pyrocles to be thrown from a tower, and Musidorus to be beheaded. Although he now discovers the sentenced princes to be his son and his nephew, he heroically refuses to change his sentence. Happily for all concerned, at this critical moment Basilius wakes up.

SOURCES OF THE PLOT

Sidney was a well-read man; not only was he acquainted with the literature of his own tongue then accessible, but he had a ready knowledge of the best Latin and Greek authors, which were very popular in his day, as well as a liberal conversance with many Italian and Spanish authors. Like his contemporaries he had no scruples at all in appropriating whatever would best suit his purpose, and he drew freely from a great abundance and variety of material.

Sannazzaro's *Arcadia*[1] has long been supposed to be the chief source of Sidney's *Arcadia*. Sidney Lee's[2] sweeping statement, that the title of the whole and most of the pastoral episodes are drawn from Sannazzaro, has generally been accepted. Lee's statement, however, does not stand the test of careful investigation. Sidney undoubtedly owes to Sannazzaro the title, the suggestion of the use of pastoral landscape for a background, and the interspersion of pastoral eclogues; but there is no close resemblance either in incident or form. Brunhuber[3] points out that Sidney was acquainted with Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* since he mentioned it in the *Defense of Poesie;* that, besides the title, he took two names from it, Elpino

[1] Published at Milan, 1504; trans. into French in 1544.
[2] *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. III, p. 231.
[3] *Sidney's "Arcadia" und ihre Nachlaufer*, p. 10.

and Parthenio; and that there is a strong resemblance between Sidney's description of the statue of Venus and a description in Sannazzaro's *Arcadia;* but concludes that Sidney is not indebted to Sannazzaro for any essential material.

The evidence for believing that Sidney was strongly influenced by Montemayor's *Diana*[1] consists in a strong similarity in the beginning of the two books,[2] in the translation of the first and second lyrics of the first book of the *Diana*,[3] placed at the end of the *Arcadia*, and in the common use of a woman-page episode. The accompanying table[4] will show this last resemblance as well as a

[1] A Spanish romance written in imitation of Sannazzaro, published 1542, trans. into English in 1598.

[2] Dr. Frederick Landmann, "The Successors of Euphuism," *New Sh. Soc. Trans.* (1882), p. 260.

[3] See Jno. Garrett Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, 1899.

[4] THE WOMAN-PAGE MOTIVE (see Dunlop, Vol. II, pp. 192, 214, for a good synopsis of the *Ecatommithi* and the *Tales*):

Author	CINTHIO	BANDELLO	MONTEMAYOR	SIDNEY*
Work in which it occurs	*Ecatommithi*, 8th novel, 5th decade	*Tales*, Part II, No. 36	*Diana*	*Arcadia*
Date of pub.	*Circa* 1554	1554	1542	1590
Disguise	A woman disguised as a page serves the man whom she loves	The same	The same	The same
Messenger ..	Lacking	She acts as messenger between her master and his sweetheart	The same	Lacking
Love complications.....	Lacking	The sweetheart falls in love with the page	The same, and the sweetheart dies of grief	Lacking

[*Table continued on next page*]

* *The Story of Zelmane;* cf. Sommer's facsimile edition, pp. 194 ff.

common resemblance to two other similar episodes written about the same time as the *Diana*.

There appears to be no decided resemblance between the two episodes under discussion beyond the mere disguise of a woman as a page in order to be near the man she loves, which was a commonplace of Italian fiction of that time. The most striking feature of the Arcadian episode is the pathos of the conclusion, and this appears to be original with Sidney.[1]

The similarity of the Plangus episode to the story of Demenate in the *Aethiopika*[2] was first pointed out by Oeftering.[3] Brunhuber[4] calls attention to this and also points out the resemblance between Pyrocles' experience among the Helots and the experience of Thyramis as leader of a band of robbers. He also lists a number of conventional motives common to both, as ship-wrecks, oracles, dreams, etc.

Brunhuber shows that the artifice of killing one person in disguise of another for the purpose of deceiving a friend, which is employed twice in the Arcadia, is used by Tatius. The pairing of cousins, so notable a feature

[*Continuation of footnote 4, page 7*]

Author	CINTHIO	BANDELLO	MONTEMAYOR	SIDNEY
Mistaken identity	The page is mistaken for her brother by her master	The page's brother is mistaken for the page by the sweetheart, who marries him	Lacking	Lacking
Solution		The page marries her master	The page turns shepherdess	The page dies of grief

[1] For a further discussion of this, see Brunhuber.

[2] See Brunhuber; also Zouch's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 140.

[3] Michael Oeftering, *Heliodor und seine Bedeutung für die Litteratur*. Berlin, 1901.

[4] P. 20.

of the *Arcadia*, occurs in the *Leucippe and Clitophon*. In addition to the title names, Clinias is common to both stories.

The trick used by Chaereas[1] to secure an entrance into Tyre bears some resemblance, thinks Brunhuber, to the trick employed by Musidorus to secure an entrance into the town of the Helots.

Dunlop[2] points out that—

> that part of the *Arcadia* which relates to the disguise of Pyrocles, and the passion of the king and queen, has been immediately taken from the French translation of the 11th Book of *Amadis de Gaula*, where Agesilian of Colchos, while in like disguise, is pursued in a similar manner by the king and queen of Goldop.

Brunhuber has collected six episodes from the *Amadis de Gaula* which resemble, to a greater or less degree, episodes of the *Arcadia*. A parallel analysis will show the extent of Sidney's indebtedness to this source.

Amadis de Gaula[3]	*Arcadia*	
Book I, chap. xiv	P. 90	I
Two knights who are enemies joust; one is unhorsed, the other severely wounded.	Two knights who are friends joust, each in defense of his lady's picture; one is unhorsed, but neither is injured.	Jousting
The mistress of the defeated knight jeers at his defeat.	The mistress of the defeated knight bids him seek some other mistress.	Jilting
The discomfited knight kills his mistress and commits suicide.	The discomfited knight thinks the loss of such a mistress will prove great gain and goes on his way.	Solution

[1] The character is from the Greek romance, *Chaereas and Callirrhoe*, by Chariton Aphrodisiensis.

[2] Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, revised by Henry Wilson (London, 1888), Vol. II, p. 396.

[3] For an excellent analysis of the plot of the *Amadis de Gaula*, see Warren's *History of the Novel*, p. 137.

The circumstances of the jousting are entirely different; and the solution of one tragic, of the other happy. The only possible resemblance consists in a mistress forsaking a defeated knight, a commonplace of the romance. The resemblance is not very striking.

	Amadis	*Arcadia*
II	Book II, chaps. ii, iii	P. 57
Misfortune	A knight is dismissed by his mistress who is jealous over a supposed intrigue.	A knight unwittingly wins the love of a friend's mistress, kills the friend in defense, and so causes the death of the father of the friend.
Retirement	Throwing away his armor, he retires to a forest to lead a hermit's life and forbids his squire to follow him on pain of death.	The same.
Combat of another as the result of mistaken identity	A knight discovers the discarded armor, puts it on, and is mistaken for the owner. A fight results.	The same.

All of these incidents occur repeatedly in the Arthurian romances. There is of course no similarity in the misfortunes which befall the two knights. The uniting of the last two incidents in sequence, however, may be accepted as possible proof of influence.

	Amadis	*Arcadia*
III	Book VII, chap. lix	P. 90
Jousting in defense of mistress' pictures	A knight for some time successfully defends the picture of his mistress against all comers, taking the pictures of their mistresses as forfeits.	(Cf. *supra*, p. 9.) The same. (The knight bears a shield decorated with stars.)
Defeat by unknown knight	He is finally defeated by an unknown knight (who bears a shield decorated with stars).	

The essential proof of resemblance in these episodes consists in the introduction of two minor features: the use of the picture of the mistress, and the decoration of the shield with stars; the combination of the two strengthens the proof.

Amadis	*Arcadia*	
Book IX, chap. iii	P. 405	IV
Florisel, disguised as a shepherd, is in love with Silvia, and Orlando in love with Florisel.	Pyrocles (Zelmane) disguised as an Amazon is in love with Philoclea, and her parents, Gynicia and Basilius, are in love with Pyrocles.	Love complication
Orlando goes to Florisel's room disguised in Silvia's clothes.	To rid himself of their attentions, Pyrocles makes an assignation with each at a certain cave, whither Gynicia goes disguised as Zelmane.	Disguise
He mistakes her for Silvia and accomplishes his long-entertained desire.	Basilius mistakes her for Zelmane and accomplishes his long-entertained desire.	Solution

The situations in the two episodes are evidently quite different, that of the *Arcadia* being far more complicated. The resemblance reduced to its barest terms is that of the disguise and the result: in each, a woman disguised in the garments of another woman, or supposed woman, deceives a man and he accomplishes his desire. From the point of view of the two women the results were widely different; from that of Basilius and Florisel they were much the same.

Amadis	*Arcadia*	
Book XI	P. 193	V
A fickle knight is tied to a tree and punished with thorns by maidens.	The same, except that bodkins are used.	Punishment
He is rescued by a knight.	The same.	Rescue

	Amadis	*Arcadia*
VI	Book XI	Book I
Falling in love	Agesilian falls in love with a princess by looking at her picture.	The same.
Disguise	He enters the household of the princess disguised as an Amazon.	The same.
Love complication	The parents both fall in love with him.	The same.

From Sannazzaro Sidney obtained the title of the *Arcadia* and the suggestion of the use of a pastoral background; from Montemayor, two lyrics and the suggestion of the introduction of romantic elements into a pastoral setting. The influence of both has been overestimated. From Heliodorus, he secured the Plangus episode and the motive of a prince as the leader of a band of outlaws; from Achilles Tatius, the artifice of executing one person in the disguise of another; and from Charitons, the trick used by Musidorus to secure an entrance into the town of the Helots. The most important source of the romantic episodes of the *Arcadia* is the *Amadis de Gaula* from which are taken at least four.

THE STYLE AND STRUCTURE OF THE *ARCADIA*

The general plan of the *Arcadia* seems to have suffered many changes in the course of the construction of the book. The reason for these changes is to be found in the circumstances under which it was written. It was begun in the summer of 1580 at Wilton, whither Sidney had gone in exile in consequence of a quarrel with the earl of Oxford, continued on his return to court, and not finished until after the trip to Flanders in 1582. As Fox-Bourne[1] remarks:

[1] H. R. Fox-Bourne, *A Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney* (London, 1862), p. 345

Indeed the entire work, though no allegory is to be found in it, gives clear evidence of the author's varying mood at the various periods of his writing. The earlier portions, composed at Wilton and in the immediate company of the countess of Pembroke, have all the graceful flow of fancy, the fulness of pastoral imagery, the buoyancy of happy innocent thought, which might be expected to mark the time of Sidney's retirement from Court and participation in the rich joys of true domestic life. The middle part, written as I conclude, after his return to the world of courtly gaiety, is equally in harmony with the scenes and circumstances of its authorship. In it there is more strength of literary power, but the theme is far less inviting. Some episodes are of exquisite beauty; but the substance of the tale, including the endless description of Cecropia's abode and the things done in it is dull and tedious. . . . . In the fourth and fifth books of the *Arcadia*, brief and disjointed as we have them, we have the foretaste of many of his thoughts at a later period. His journey to Flanders, in the early spring of 1582, must have interrupted his literary work. After that there was a marked change in his temper. Honest purposes were rising in him which little accorded with many sentiments in the half-written romance. Hastily, and with not much satisfaction to himself, he finished it as briefly as he could; spoiling the perfection of the story, but very beautifully showing how his own nature was being perfected.

The *Arcadia* is not, however, wanting in a certain kind of unity. It is wrapped in an atmosphere of courtesy and tenderness—a reflection of the noble soul of the author. Sidney's personality underwent little change during the progress of the book; and it is the expression of this personality, the type of the high-minded courtier so pleasing to the English mind, that gives the book its chief charm today, as it gave its popularity three centuries ago.

The loose, free-and-easy structure is not without certain advantages, provided the reader have plenty of time.

It is not so easy, however, to forgive the frequent interruption of the story with episodes, and episodes within episodes; and it is still more exasperating to find, scattered piecemeal throughout several hundred pages, an episode that has little or no connection with the main plot.[1] The confusion arising from this is considerably heightened by the frequent disguise and change of names of the principal characters. Eliminate this feature, cut out the side episodes, and there is left a story not wanting in interest or unity. It is the attempt to combine material which as Professor Raleigh[2] has remarked, "would furnish out twenty novels," that is the peculiar weakness of the *Arcadia*.

This weakness is emphasized by the poorly constructed paragraphs and long sentences made up of innumerable clauses which are distinctive features of Sidney's style. The carelessness in this respect, however, is more apparent than real. It must be remembered that the present standards of correctness governing paragraph structure were not at this time developed. Good prose was almost unknown, and verse was used as the medium of expression for finished thought in nearly every field of knowledge. Indeed Sidney himself considered the *Arcadia* as a sort of prose poem, an opinion shared by the literary critics of his time.[3]

To this point of view is due much of the affectation of his style. He took a keen enjoyment in playing upon words, in repeating them singly and in pairs; and he gave this fancy the range of full poetic license. Thus Strephon addresses Urania as "sweetest fairness and

[1] Take, for instance, the Erona episode, which is distributed over pp. 164, 165, 173-78, 182, 183, 209, 222, 233, 242, 448, etc.

[2] *The English Novel*, p. 60.

[3] See below, p. 25.

fairest sweetness,"[1] and Laon urges Strephon to "think with consideration and consider with acknowledging, and acknowledge with admiration and admire with love and love with joy."[2] Kalander advises the young princes: "Too much thinking doth consume the spirits; and oft it falls out that while one thinks too much of his doing, he leaves to do the effect of his thinking."[3] At the close of the stag hunt, the party "found Daephantus was not to be found."[4] These examples can be multiplied almost indefinitely. In some cases this trick is absolutely indefensible; in others it admirably serves to give a pithiness, as in the case of Kalander's advice to the princes quoted above, or to secure a certain dynamic effect, as in the following description of Parthenia:

> Fair indeed, fame I think itself daring not to call fairer if it be not Helen, Queen of Corinth, and the two incomparable sisters of Arcadia; and that which made her fairness much the fairer was that it was but the fair ambassador of a most fair mind.

Another mark of Sidney's style is his use of a great number of epithets and adjectives, especially those expressing emotion. This feature is of course not peculiar to Sidney but is characteristic of his contemporaries as well. The following description of Arcadia will serve to show his usage in this respect as well as to illustrate certain other features:

> There were hills which garnished their proud heights with stately trees; humble valleys whose base estate seemed comforted with the refreshing of silver rivers; meadows enamelled with all sorts of eye-pleasing flowers; thickets, which being lined with most pleasant shade, were witnessed so to, by the cheerful disposition of many well-tuned birds; each pasture stored with sheep, feeding with sober security, while the pretty lambs, with

[1] P. 3. [2] P. 4. [3] P. 49. [4] P. 51.

bleating oratory, craved the dams' comfort: here a shepherd's boy piping as though he should never be old, there a young shepherdess knitting, and withal singing; and it seemed that her voice comforted her hands to work, and her hands kept time to her voice-music.[1]

In the passage just quoted is well illustrated Sidney's habitual use of what Ruskin terms the "pathetic fallacy," the attributing of human emotions to inanimate objects. Other examples may be cited from almost any page. Thus Laon of Urania: "But when she was embarked did you not mark how the winds whistled, and the seas danced for joy; how the sails did swell with pride, and all because they had Urania."[2] In describing a fair lady the lover is fond of picturing the objects that touch her as capable of experiencing his emotions: "Most blessed paper which shall kiss that hand;"[3] "covered their dainty beauties with the glad clothes;"[4] "the lute delighted to come to such lips;"[5] and, "the wine seemed to laugh for joy to come to such lips,"[6] are thoroughly typical.

Of all the features of Sidney's style that which is most characteristic is his boldness of metaphor. In describing a battle, he writes:

But by this time there had been a furious meeting of either side, where, after the terrible salutation of warlike noise, the shaking of hands was with sharp weapons. Some lances according to the metal they met and skill of the guider, did stain themselves in blood; some flew up in pieces, as if they would threaten heaven because they failed on earth; but their office was quickly inherited either by the prince of weapons—the sword—or by some heavy mace, or biting axe, which, hunting still the weakest chase, sought ever to light there where smallest resistance might worse prevent mischief. The clashing of armour, and crushing of staves, the justling of bodies, the resounding of blows, was the first part of that ill-agreeing music,

[1] P. 12. [2] P. 3. [3] P. 143. [4] P. 145. [5] P. 112. [6] P. 250.

which was beautified with the grisliness of wounds, the rising of dust, the hideous falls, and the groans of the dying.[1]

Again, in describing the growth of love in Philoclea's breast:

At last she fell in acquaintance with love's harbinger, wishing . . . . Then grown bolder she would wish either herself or Zelmane a man, that there might succeed a blessed marriage between them; but when that wish had once displayed his ensign in her mind, then followed whole squadrons of longings that so it might be, with a main battle of mislikings and repinings against their creation that so it was not.

In the continuation of this interesting description, love figures in rapid succession as a disease, a river, and a captor:

But as some diseases when they are easy to be cured they are hard to be known, but when they grow easy to be known they are almost impossible to be cured, so the sweet Philoclea, while she might prevent it she did not feel it, now she felt it when it was past preventing, like a river, no rampiers being built against it till already it have overflowed: for now, indeed, Love pulled off his mask and showed his face unto her, and told her plainly that she was his prisoner.[2]

Sidney's style is well summed up in the term 'poetic prose': the play on words, striking epithets, vivid personifications, and bold imagery are essentially poetical; and these in brief are the features of the Arcadian style.

THE INFLUENCES WHICH MOLDED SIDNEY'S STYLE

It is always a difficult matter to trace the sources of an author's style, to say that he secured this quality from one author and that from another, when as a matter of fact the most valuable influence is that which leaves the smallest trace; in other words, that which results in

[1] P. 271. [2] P. 137.

growth rather than imitation. At the time of the writing of the *Arcadia*, however, there existed schools of imitation, generally the result of foreign influence. Such a school was that known as the "euphuistic," introduced largely from Italian or Spanish sources, established by Sir Thomas North, Pettie, and various other writers, and finding its climax and name in Lyly's *Euphues*.[1] That Sidney was very slightly if at all influenced by this movement has been, I think, pretty conclusively established by Dr. Frederick Landmann,[2] who sums up his discussion on this head as follows:

> The elments of style in Sidney's *Arcadia* are different from those of Euphuism. In brief, they consist in endless tedious sentences, one sometimes filling a whole page, in the fondness for details, and in the description of the beauties of rural scenery. Instead of Lyly's *exempla* and shortened similes with "for as-so," we have here minutely worked-out comparisons and conceits couched in excessively metaphorical language, quaint circumlocutions for simple expressions, and bold personifications of inanimate objects. Besides, Sidney is fond of playing upon words, and is not averse to *simple* alliteration.

Sidney, as we have noted above, was acquainted with certain Italian and Spanish authors, more particularly Sannazzaro and Montemayor, and borrowed from them some of the material of the *Arcadia*. It is not impossible then that he may have been influenced to a greater or less extent by their style. Landmann is of this opinion.[3]

> Sidney [he writes] certainly avoided Euphuism, but he brought in another taste and style that led to the same exaggeration as North's translation had led to in *Euphues*. Sidney was

[1] For an excellent bibliography and summary of this discussion, see Clarence G. Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism*, 1894.

[2] Cf. Dr. Landmann, *Euphues* (Hielbronn, 1887), p. xxviii; note also Professor A. S. Cook's introduction to *Sidney's Defense of Poesy*, p. xxiii.

[3] Dr. Landmann, *New Sh. Soc. Trans.* (1882), p. 261.

the first to introduce into England the shepherd romance, with its flowery language and endless clauses, its tediousness and sentimentality, which characterize the shepherds of Sannazzaro's *Arcadia* from Montemayor's *Diana* up to the *Astrée*. The Italian as well as the Spanish work, which Sidney must have known, shows an affected style in speech. Sidney was probably influenced by the diction of both.

John Garrett Underhill[1] speaking of the influence of the *Diana* says:

Sidney did not appropriate the prose of Montemayor, but he was not uninfluenced by it. There is a striking parallelism between the opening passages of the *Arcadia* and the *Diana*. Furthermore, both novels are mixed pastorals combining elements proper to the eclogue and the romance of chivalry. Montemayor made free use of letters, combats, and enchantments, which had until then not been considered proper to the pastoral. He was followed and far outstripped in the employment of these devices by Sidney. The courtly and thoroughly aristocratic tone of the *Diana* which is particularly obtrusive in the additions of Alonso Pirez and Gil Polo, dominates the *Arcadia*. It is also evident in Sidney's style, but it would be injudicious to attempt to father the affectations of which Sidney is the best known representative upon Montemayor. There is a similarity in the exaggerated manner of both writers, and particularly in the length and in a certain languor of the sentences; but Montemayor is much simpler than Sidney. His affectation is due to the sentimental artificiality of the life of his shepherds; with him the expression is not strained beyond the conception. In this respect the Spanish differs from the English pastoral, which was indebted to its prototype for something of its conduct, but not deeply enough influenced to owe anything to its style.

In a note he adds,

The attempt to connect the style of Sidney with Montemayor has failed. Dr. Landmann, the chief exponent of the affirmative view, who was very positive about the indebtedness of Sidney to the Spaniards, in 1882,[2] is much less sure of his ground in his

[1] Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, p. 267.

[2] See above.

later preface to the first part of the *Euphues*. The truth is that the alliterative, euphuistical, and Arcadian styles had started on their course before 1580, when the *Diana* was as yet not widely read in England. Yong, in translating the book, was given to ornamenting and elaborating the style of the original (e. g., cf. *Diana* [London, 1598], pp. 129, 131, 139, etc.). He was, indeed, conforming it to a standard which it had not set, and whose requirements it did not fully meet.

Professsor Child[1] takes much the same view:

Nothing notable or individual, it seems to us, can be detected in Sidney's style that can be declared specifically Spanish. It is a straightforward narrative style, so far as structure is concerned. Sidney was not thinking of the form of the sentences as he wrote. Its individual quality proves on analysis to be due to Sidney's use of figurative language; his clauses while direct and simple are lengthened by circumlocution. The attention is attracted not by any peculiarity of form, but by bold personification and vividly picturesque metaphor. Knowing that Sidney's taste was formed in an Italian school, are we to believe that his fondness for these was due simply to Montemayor?

To the influence of the classics is largely due Sidney's mastery over words as well as neatly turned phrases. To a faithful study of the Scriptures, and the reading of eastern-tinged romances is due his almost oriental love of splendor. In summing up these influences, Professor Cook[2] writes:

Sidney's favorite among the Latin prosaists was unquestionably Cicero. To him, as to the men of the literary Renaissance generally, Cicero was the unrivalled model of style. Sidney's ear was charmed by the harmonious cadences of the great rhetorician, while his imagination was fired by Cicero's ostensible fervor of patriotism, his oratorical indignation or zeal, his prodigality of information and allusion, and, perhaps beyond everything else, by the reflected glories of the ancient Roman State.

[1] Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism*, p. 111.

[2] Professor A. S. Cook's *Sidney's Defense of Poesy*, p. xvi.

If the style of the master partakes somewhat too much of Asiatic grandiloquence and floridity, and somewhat too little of Attic refinement and moderation, we should not be greatly surprised if we find the pupil occasionally proving his aptness by a clever imitation of the blemishes, as well as the beauties of his original. We must not be unjust to Sidney because the sounding brass of Cicero sometimes gave forth in his hands the tone of the clanging cymbal. It must be remembered that the mind of England had been largely nourished upon the Psalmists and Prophets of the Old Testament, and had thus acquired a certain liking for the splendor of Oriental imagery, as well as the pomp and harmonies of Oriental language. To this must be added the familiarity with the mediaeval romances which came in the train of the Crusades, many of which were fragrant with the breath of the East.

THE POPULARITY OF THE *ARCADIA*

As we have noted,[1] the *Arcadia* was finished before 1583. By this time Sidney, who had begun it as a summer pastime had become tired of it. He had never viewed it as a serious literary venture and was well aware of many of its imperfections. It is then natural to suppose that he did not encourage its circulation; undoubtedly if he could have had his wish in the matter, it would never have become known outside a narrow circle of friends. His friends, however, viewed the book in a different light. It was copied and recopied and copies made of copies; so that long before its publication it had established considerable vogue. These facts are pretty clearly indicated in a note written in 1586 by Edward Molineux, in which he says:

Not long after his return from the journie, and before his further imploiment by hir maiestie, at his vacant and spare time of leisure (for he could at no time indure to idle and void of action) he made his book which he named Arcadia, a worke

[1] Cf. above, p. 12.

(though a mere fansie, toie, and fiction) shewing such excellence of spirit, gallant invention, utriety of matter, and orderlie disposition, and couched in frame of such apt words without superfluity, eloquent phrase, and fine conceipt, with interchange of devise, so delightfull to the reader, and pleasant to the hearer, as nothing could be taken out to amend it, or added to it that would not impaire it, as few works of like subject hath beene either of some more earnestlie sought, choislie kept, nor placed in better place, and amongst better jewels than that was; so that a speciall deere friend he should be that could have a sight, but much more deere that could once obteine a copie of it. Which his so happie and fortunat beginnings so amplie set out both his sufficiencie for the publike, and what he can doo in exercise privat, that manie mens eies are drawen into exceeding hope and expectation of his speedy further advancement, which to the honor of himselfe and his house I dailie praie for, and most heartilie wish him.[1]

In this same year (1586) the question of publication was brought up by Fulke Greville in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham:

This day one (WILLIAM) PONSONBY, a bookbinder in Paul's Churchyard, came to me and told me that there was one in hand to print SIR PHILIP SIDNEY's old *Arcadia;* asking me, "if it were done with your Honour's cons(ent) or any other's of his friends?" I told him, "To my knowledge, No." Then he advised me to give warning of it to the Archbishop [Whitgift] or Doctor Cosen; who have, as he says, a copy of it to peruse to that end.

Sir, I am loth to renew his memory unto you, but yet in this I must presume; for I have sent my Lady, your daughter, at her request, a correction of that old one, done four or five years since [i. e., in 1581 or 1582], which he left in trust with me: whereof there are no more copies [i. e., no other copy than this one]; and (it is) fitter to be printed than the first which is so common [i. e., in manuscript]. Notwithstanding even that to be amended by a direction set down under his own hand, how

[1] *Holinshed's Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 880 (London, 1808).

and why: so as in many respects, especially the care of printing of it, it is to be done with more deliberation.[1]

Two years later, on August 23, 1588, the *Arcadia* was entered in the *Register*. Professor Storojenko couples this with Puttenham's mention of the *Arcadia* "as a universally known work," in proof of the statement that the *Arcadia* appeared in the autumn of 1588.[2] I can discover no evidence, however, that it appeared before 1590, which is the date of the oldest known edition.

The *Arcadia* sprung at once into wide popularity. Not only was it read eagerly but frequently memorized and used in conversation at court. An interesting case of this sort is noted in the *Anecdotes* published by the Camden Society:[3]

> A gentleman complimenting with a lady in pure Sir Philip Sidney, she was so well verst in his author, as tacitely she traced him to the bottom of a leafe, where (his memory failing) he brake off abruptly. "Nay, I beseech you, Sir," sayd she, "proceede and turn over the leafe, for methinke the best part is still behind;" which unexpected discovery silenc't him for ever after.

Shakerly Marmion in *The Antiquary*, 1641,[4] introduces the following conversation:

> *Duke.*—Are you so preposterous in your opinion, to think that wit and elegancy, in writing, are only confin'd to stagers and book-worms? 'Twere a solecism to imagine, that a young bravery, who lives in the perpetual sphere of humanity, where every waiting-woman speaks perfect Arcadia, and the ladies' lips distil with the very quintessence of conceit, should be so barren of apprehension, as not to participate of their virtues.

[1] Arber's *English Garner*, Vol. I, p. 488; cf. also, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1581-1590*, ed. by Robt. Lemon, 1865, p. 369.

[2] See Huth, library ed. of Greene's *Works*, Vol. I, p. 103.

[3] *Anecdotes and Traditions*, Camden Soc., p. 64; cf. also *Dict. of N. B.*

[4] See Reed and Gilchrist, *Old Plays*, Vol. X, p. 49, 1826.

Ben Jonson strongly lashes this affectation of his time in his *Discoveries:*

But now nothing is good that is natural, right and natural language seems to have the least of the wit in it; that which is writhed and tortured is accounted the more exquisite.

Extracts from the *Arcadia* figure prominently in the chap books of the time, and occasionally letters were written in the Arcadian style. Such a letter John Udall wrote to the queen in 1598(?).[1]

I present unto your Highness the natural wit of your natural subject, and so unhappily may prove a natural, but I have adventured as being happily bred up in the blessed days of so blessed a Queen. Sacred lady, disdain not the water in my hands humbled at your princely feet; the cause is God's, the service yours. Your Majesty's ever memorable servant, the Lord of Essex, hath cast me into these parts in hope to mould me for better purposes than to post with the packet. Vouchsafe once to cast your merciful eyes upon the footstool of your kingdom, since it hath been said that enemy prince that durst not put on his 'cayske' in open hostility by hidden practice hath poisoned a stirrup. Vouchsafe, I may only urge unto your Highness the noble speech of the noble Lord Mountayne [Montaigne] of France, spoken by Anthestanes [Antisthenes] to the Atthenynnees [Athenians]. How chanceth it, saith he, you do not employ your asses in the labor of your land as you do your horses? to whom it was replied, the beast was not born to use. Why then, saith he, how fareth it you employ them in your commonwealth and war? This paradox will suffice at least to make your Majesty laugh if it be no more worth, and so haply may make your Sir Phillip Sidney's Dametas better known unto your Highness in time.—[*Holograph: two seals; device: a dagger.*]

The literary critics of the day nearly all mentioned the *Arcadia* in terms of the most extravagant praise. Some attempted to read into it a philosophy of life, and

[1] *Salisbury Manuscript*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Vol. VIII, p. 562.

at least one attempted to justify the plan of the book.[1] The most noteworthy criticisms are as follows:

Puttenham, in his *Art of English Poesie*, 1589,[2] speaking of those that "deserve the highest praise," says:

For Eglogue and pastorall Poesie, Sir *Philip Sidney* and Maister *Challenner*, and that other Gentleman who wrote the late shepheardes Callender.

In another place he says:[3]

And this maner of resemblaunce is not onely performed by likening of lively creatures one to another, but also of any other naturall thing, bearing a proportion of similitude, as to liken yealow to gold, white to silver, red to the rose, soft to silke, hard to the stone and such like. Sir *Philip Sidney* in the description of his mistresse excellently well handled this figure of resemblaunce, by imagerie, as ye may see in his booke of the *Archadia*.

Harington, in "An Apologie of Poetry" prefixed to *Orlando Furioso*, 1591,[4] wrote:

There follows only two reproofs, which I rather interpret two peculiar praises of this writer (Sidney) above all that wrate before him in this kind: One, that he breaks off narrations verie abruptly, so as indeed a loose unattentive reader, will hardly carrie away any part of the storie: but this doubtlesse is a point of great art, to draw a man with a continuall thirst to reade out the whole worke, and toward the end of the booke, to close up the diverse matters briefly and clenly. If *S. Philip Sidney* had counted this a fault, he would not have done so himselfe in his Arcadia.

Harvey, in *Pierce's Supererogations*, 1593,[5] advises his readers:

Read the Countesse of Pembroke's *Arcadia*, a gallant Legendary, full of pleasureable accidents and proffitable discourses; for three things especially, very notable; for amorous Courting,

[1] Harington; see below. [2] Arber ed., p. 77. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 250.
[4] Haslewood, p. 141. [5] Grosart ed., Vol. II, p. 100.

(he was young in years;) for sage counselling, (he was ripe in judgment;) and for valorous fighting (his soveraine profession was Armes:) and delightfull pastime by way of Pastorall exercises, may passe for the fourth. He that will Loove, let him learn to loove of him, that will teach him how to Live; and furnish him with many pithy, and effectual instructions, delectably interlaced by way of proper descriptions of excellent Personages, and common narrations of other notable occurrences; in the veine of Salust, Livy, Cornelius Tacitus, Justine, Eutropius, Philip de Comines, Guicciardine, and the most sententious Historians, that have powdered their stile with the salt of discretion, and seasoned their judgment with the leaven of experience. There want not some suttle Stratagems of importance, and some politique Secretes of privitie: and he that would skillfully, and bravely manage his weapon with a cunning Fury, may finde lively Precepts in the gallant Examples of his valiantest Duelists; especially of Palladius, and Daiphantus; Zelmane, and Amphialus; Phalantus, and Amphialus: but chiefly of Argalus, and Amphialus; Pyrocles, and Anaxius; Musidorus, and Amphialus, whose lusty combats, may seeme Heroicall Monomachies. And that the valour of such redoubted men may appeare the more conspicuous, and admirable, by comparison, and interview of their contraries; smile at the ridiculous encounters of Dametas, and Dorus; of Dametas, and Clinias; and ever when you thinke upon Dametas, remember the Confuting Champion, more surquidrous than Anaxius, and more absurd than Dametas: and if I should always hereafter call him Dametas, I should fitt him with a name, as naturally proper unto him as his owne. . . . .

Live ever sweete Booke; the silver Image of his gentle wit and the golden Pillar of his noble courage; and ever notify unto the worlde, that thy writer, was the Secretary of Eloquence; the breath of the Muses, the hooney-bee of the dayntiest flowers of Witt, and Arte; the Pith of Morall, and intellectual Virtues; the arme of Bellona in the field; the tounge of Suada in the chãber; the spirite of Practice *en esse;* and the Paragon of Excellency in Print.[1]

[1] Harvey, in his other prose works, frequently praises the *Arcadia;* cf. Grosart ed., Vol. I, pp. 267, 190, etc.

Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia*,[1] praises Sidney, thus:

As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by HOMER, HESIOD, EURIPIDES, AESCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, PINDARUS, PHOCYLIDES, and ARISTOPHANES; and the Latine tongue by VERGILL, OVID, HORACE, SILIUS ITALICUS, LUCANUS, LUCRETIUS, AUSONIUS, and CLAUDIANUS: so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and resplendent habiliments by SIR PHILIP SYDNEY, SPENCER, DANIEL, DRAYTON, WARNER, SHAKESPEARE, MARLOW, and CHAPMAN.

As Xenophon, who did imitate so excellently as to give us *effigiem justi imperie*, "the portraiture of a just empire," under the name of CYRUS (as Cicero saith of him) made therein an absolute heroical poem; and as Heliodorus wrote in prose, his sugared invention of that picture of love in THEAGINES and CARICLEA; and yet both excellent admired poets: so SIR PHILIP SIDNEY writ his immortal poem *The Countesse of* PEMBROKE'S *Arcadia* in prose; and yet our rarest poet.

Bolton, in the *Hypercritica*, written in 1610(?),[2] remarks:

The *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney is most famous for rich conceit and splendor of courtly Expressions.

Drayton, in *Of Poets and Poesie*, 1627,[3] says of Sidney:

(And) thoroughly paced our language as to show
The plenteous English hand in hand might go
With Greek and Latin, and did first reduce
Our tongue from Lilly's writing then in use
Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of Fishes, Flyes
Playing with words and idle similies.

The causes of the remarkable vogue and popularity are not far to seek. The ideal personality of the author, his romantic love affair, and the circumstances of his death at Zutphen, all combined to endear him to the

[1] Published by J. Churton Collins, *Critical Essays and Literary Fragments* (1903), p. 11.

[2] Cf. Haslewood, *Ancient Essays*.

[3] See *Dict. of N. B.*, under "Philip Sidney."

hearts of the Elizabethans; and the book itself embodied much that they were striving for—the attainment of a plane of social culture suited to their rapid advance along other lines. The artificialities it gave rise to simply displaced other artificialities of less real worth, and are important merely as indicating the stronger current of real progress beneath. The influence of the *Arcadia* on Elizabethan society was wholesome and invigorating, and the extent of that influence more far-reaching and lasting than that of any other single work of its time.

PART II. THE INFLUENCE OF THE *ARCADIA* ON THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

In discussing the influence of the *Arcadia* on the Elizabethan drama I shall confine myself strictly to the period before the closing of the theaters in 1642. This seems desirable because by that time new influences had set in that render the problem of tracing the influence of the *Arcadia* exceedingly complicated. Its influence on the pastoral plays will first be examined, and secondly its influence on some other plays of the period.

THE PASTORAL DRAMA

The pastoral drama has been defined and classified in a variety of ways. One critic[1] would have it include four-

[1] W. W. Greg, *Cornhill Magazine*, Vol. LXXX, p. 202. Mr. Greg's list is as follows:

THE MYTHOLOGICAL SCHOOL

PLAY	AUTHOR	DATE
The Arraignment of Paris	Peele	1584
Gallathea	Lyly	1592
Love's Metamorphoses	Lyly	1601
Hymen's Triumph	Daniel	1615
Queen's Arcadia	Daniel	1605

THE SCHOOL OF THE ITALIAN MASTERS

The Faithful Shepherdess	Fletcher	1609
The Sad Shepherd	Jonson	before 1637

[Continued on next page]

teen plays classified in three schools: The Mythological School, the School of the Italian Masters, and the Utopian School. Another[1] would have it include twelve plays,[2] but discusses in connection with these, twelve[3] others which he classifies as "mythological," "forest," and "court and pastoral." I shall use the term in a broad

[Continued] THE UTOPIAN SCHOOL

PLAY	AUTHOR	DATE
The Maid's Metamorphosis	Anonymous	1600
Amyntas	Randolph	1638
The Shepherd's Holiday	Rutter	1639
Argalus and Parthenia	Glapthorne	1638
Arcadia	Shirley	1632
The Shepherd's Paradise	Montague	1633
The Careless Shepherd	Goffe	1629

[1] Homer Smith, *Pub. of Mod. Lang. Assn.*, 1897.

[2] Mr. Smith's list is as follows:

The Queen's Arcadia	Daniel	a. 1605
The Faithful Shepherdess	Fletcher	a. 1608
Hymen's Triumph	Daniel	a. 1614
The Careless Shepherdess	Goffe	a. before 1629
Rhodon and Iris	Knevet	a. 1631
The Shepherd's Paradise	Montague	a. 1632
Amyntas	Randolph	w. 1632-34
The Shepherd's Holiday	Rutter	pr. 1635
Love's Riddle	Cowley	w. 1632-36
Astraea	Willan	pr. 1651
The Enchanted Lovers	Lower	pr. 1658
Dione	Gay	w. 1720

[3] His list of related plays is as follows:

MYTHOLOGICAL		
The Woman in the Moon	Lyly	1597
The Arraignment of Paris	Peele	1584
The Maid's Metamorphosis	Anonymous	1600
Love's Metamorphoses	Lyly	1601
Gallathea	Lyly	1592
FOREST		
Sad Shepherd	Jonson	before 1637
As You Like It	Shakespeare	1599
COURT AND PASTORAL		
Argalus and Parthenia	Glapthorne	1638
The Thracian Wonder	Webster	1661
Love's Labyrinth	Forde	1660
Ile of Guls	Day	1606
Arcadia	Shirley	1632

sense covering all of these plays and such others as possess any considerable pastoral element. In the case of Shakespeare it seems best to leave such of his plays as are sometimes termed pastoral to be discussed under the second main division.

The list considered is as follows:

PLAY	AUTHOR	DATE
Arraignment of Paris	Peele	pr. 1584
Gallathea[1]	Lyly	pr. 1592
The Woman in the Moon[2]	Lyly	pr. 1597
Mucedorus	Anonymous	pr. 1598
Maid's Metamorphosis	Anonymous	pr. 1600
Love's Metamorphoses[3]	Lyly	pr. 1601
The Queen's Arcadia	Daniel	a. 1605
The Ile of Guls	Day	a. 1605
The Faithful Shepherdess	Fletcher	a. 1608
Hymen's Triumph	Daniel	a. 1614
Love Tricks, or School of Comp.	Shirley	pr. 1625
The Careless Shepherdess	Goffe	w. before 1629
Love's Riddle	Cowley	w. 1632–36
The Arcadia	Shirley	a. 1632
Amyntas	Randolph	w. 1632–34
Argalus and Parthenia	Glapthorne	pr. 1639
The Shepherd's Holiday	Rutter	pr. 1635–39
The Parliament of Bees	Day	pr. 1641
The Sad Shepherd	Jonson	pr. 1640

MUCEDORUS[4]

Mucedorus, a prince, goes disguised as a shepherd to the court of Arragon to win the heart and hand of the king's daughter, Amadine. As he nears the court, he

[1] Mr. Greg would assign as early a date as 1584; cf. *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, London, 1906. Unfortunately Mr. Greg's book did not appear until after I had completed my investigation. His treatment is accurate and comprehensive.

[2] Mr. Fleay suggests as early a date as 1589–90.

[3] Mr. Fleay thinks this may have been written as early as 1588–89.

[4] Cf. Dodsley, *Old English Plays* (ed. by Hazlitt), Vol. VII.

encounters the princess fleeing from a bear. He promptly kills the bear and presents the head to the grateful princess. Segasto, her cowardly escort, conceives a dislike for the shepherd, and, when the latter appears at court, plots his death at the hands of a servant. Mucedorus kills the servant, and is punished with exile. Amadine has fallen in love with Mucedorus and offers to elope with him. On her way to the meeting-place she is captured by Bremo, a wild man, and dragged away into the forest. Mucedorus, while wandering about the forest, dressed as a hermit, discovers them and kills Bremo. Mucedorus and Amadine now plan to live in a cave until the hue and cry is over. Segasto discovers them, however, and they go back to the court, where the king on learning Mucedorus' real station is glad to welcome him as a son-in-law.

There is a great deal of fun scattered throughout the play in the person of Mouse, the clown, to whose antics was due, undoubtedly, the success of the play.

To the *Arcadia*, *Mucedorus* is indebted for the name of the hero and in a general way for the sketch of the plot. The incidents common to both are as follows:

1. A prince disguised as a shepherd seeks the hand of a princess.

2. He first establishes himself in her graces by rescuing her from the clutches of a bear.

3. They elope to a forest, but are discovered by a searching party.

4. They return to her father's court, and the king on learning the hero's station gives his blessing to the match.

Of the characters in the play, Mucedorus resembles Sidney's Musidorus, and Amadine has much in common with Philoclea. Philoclea, by the way, is loved by Pyrocles, not Musidorus, in the romance. There are no

other resemblances that are very striking. Mouse, who is really the star character, in *Mucedorus*, has no correspondent in the *Arcadia*.

The atmosphere is comic throughout, as the irrepressible Mouse is always popping up whenever there is any tendency toward the serious. The style is juvenile and very crude in places; and bears little resemblance to the style of the *Arcadia*. There are a few cases of inverse balance, as:

> Today I live revenged on my foe
> Tomorrow I die, my foe revenged on me;[1]

frequent simple alliteration, as:

> With restless rage I wander through these woods,[2]

and occasional examples of the pathetic fallacy:

> The crystal waters in the bubbling brooks,
> When I come by, doth swiftly slide away,
> And claps themselves in closets under banks,[3]

but I can discover no proof that the author had either studied the *Arcadia* very closely or copied any of its phrases or tricks of style. ✓

THE ILE OF GULS[4]

Basilius, duke of Arcadia, in order to secure fitting husbands for his two daughters Hippolita and Violetta, jealously guards them in a secluded spot of Arcadia, and sends forth a challenge offering to bestow them on anyone of "princely stem who shall by his wit and active pollicie wooe, win, entice or any way defeate me of my charge."

Two rogues, Aminter, and Julio, plot with Basilius' trusted servant, Dametas, to kidnap the daughters during

[1] P. 220. [2] P. 221. [3] P. 221.

[4] Bullen ed., Chiswick Press, 1881.

the progress of a hunt. The princesses are rescued from this villainy by Demetrius and Lisander, two princes, who have come as suitors, disguised as a woodsman and an Amazon. This act establishes the two heroes in the good graces of Basilius' household.

Both Basilius and Gynitia, the latter penetrating his disguise, fall in love with Lisander; and the noble Amazon uses their folly to urge his suit with the fair Violetta. Having won the daughter's heart, he rids himself of the parents by promising each an assignation at Adonis' chapel and so escapes with his prize. Meanwhile, Demetrius, by feigning extravagant love for the ugly Mopsa, has carried the day with Hippolita, and by duping the clownish guardians succeeds in bearing her off in triumph. The two heroes arrange to ship Hippolita and Violetta to Lacedemon, and return to announce their victory to the gulled circle who one by one have come to Adonis' chapel. The escape of the princesses, however, is frustrated by Julio and Aminter, and the maidens shortly arrive at the chapel, to the great consternation of Lisander and Demetrius. In spite of this failure of their plans Basilius declares his daughters fairly won by the heroes.

The argument of *The Ile of Guls* is, says Day,[1] "a little spring or Rivolet drawne frô the full streame of the right worthy Gentleman, *Sir Philip Sidney's* well knowne Archadea." It is very evident that Day did not follow his model very closely. In three main particulars does his story differ from the *Arcadia:* the elimination of the oracle, the substitution of the villainy of Aminter and Julio for that of Cecropia, and the omission of the trial scene.

In some of the minor details Day closely follows Sid-

[1] Prologue.

ney, and at times uses his exact phrasing; a few quotations will serve to indicate this:

Ile of Guls, p. 33	*Arcadia*, p. 50
Dametas, were thine eares ever at a more musicall banquet? How the houndes mouthes, like bells, are tuned one under another?	. . . . their cry being composed of so well-sorted mouths that any man would perceive therein some kind of proportion.
P. 90	P. 414
Dametas finds instead of treasure the following verses:	Same situation.
Who hath his hire hath well his labours plast; Earthe thou didst seeke and store of earthe thou hast, etc.	Who hath his hire hath well his labour plac'd; Earth thou didst seek, and store of earth thou hast.
P. 51	P. 179
. . . . to heare how the youth of the village will commend me: oh the pretty little pincking eyes of *Mopsa*, saies one; oh the fine flat lips of Mopsa, saies another; and then doe I bridle my head like a malthorse, thus; set my armes akembo thus, writhe my necke and my bodie thus, winke with one eye thus, and spread my peacocks tayle as broad as the proudest minx of em all.	I could not go through the street of our village but I might hear the young men talk: "Oh the pretty little eyes of Miso! "Oh the fine thin lips of Miso!" "Oh the goodly fat hands of Miso!" besides how well a certain wrying I had of my necke became me. Then one would wink with one eye, and the other cast daisies at me. I must confess, seeing so many amorous, it made me set up my peacock's taile with the highest.

THE CHARACTERS OF THE TWO COMPARED

Ile of Guls	*Arcadia*
Cast of Characters	Corresponding Characters
BASILIUS, duke of Arcadia.	BASILIUS, king of Arcadia.
GYNETIA, his wife.	GYNETIA (Gynicia).

Ile of Guls Cast of Characters	*Arcadia* Corresponding Characters
HIPPOLITA, VIOLETTA } their daughters.	PAMELA. PHILOCLEA.
LISANDER, in love with Violetta. DEMETRIUS, in love with Hippolita.	PYROCLES, MUCEDORUS } Day uses their assumed names, Zelmane and Dorus.
DAMETAS, servant of Basilius.	DAMETAS.
MOPSA, his daughter.	MOPSA.
MISO, his wife.	MISO.
MANASSES, his secretary.	No corresponding character.
AMINTER, a soldier } two villains.	"
JULIO, a scholar } two villains.	"
KALANDER, PHILINAX } captains.	(These names are found in *Arcadia*.)

The only characters of importance not taken from the *Arcadia* are Manasses, Aminter, and Julio. Manasses is introduced largely as a caricature of the Puritans, and Aminter and Julio were undoubtedly suggested by the villains[1] of Daniel's *Queens Arcadia*, Colax and Techne. Day, however, makes very free with Sidney's characters. Dametas in addition to being a clown is an arch villain and the knights do not possess the courtesy, nor the heroines the purity, of the Arcadian characters.

Day's style differs widely from that of Sidney. The sentences are crisp and short, the repartee is good, and the action rapid. Occasionally, however, we discover traces of Sidney's influence. Where Day attempted to introduce a rustic style, he followed Sidney; as we have already noted above, he used one rustic speech of Sidney's; and other proof is not wanting that he studied Sidney's attempts. In his use of imagery I would by no means imply that he resembles Sidney, and yet that he was influ-

[1] Colax and Techne, two rogues who enter Arcadia and plot "cunning projects" to the confusion of the "simple grosse Arcadians."

enced by him in this respect is conclusively proved by the frequent occurrence of phrases like the following: ". . . . lo now is the web of my hopes upon the loombs of perfection;"[1] "clip off the taile of the discourse with the sissars of attention,"[2] etc. He also experimented in word repetition, generally with the following empty results: "Excellent beauty and therefore more excellent because situate in so fair a creature."[3] Neither in this nor in his imagery does he approach the beauty or boldness of Sidney's usage.

The essential difference between the two is one of atmosphere. Day uses no pastoral background and savors the whole with the wit of the court or the more vulgar wit of the tavern; this stands in marked contrast to the tender courtesy and refinement of the *Arcadia*.

THE ARCADIA[4]

Shirley's *Arcadia* is a dramatization of the principal incidents of Sidney's *Arcadia*. With the exception of the omission of the Cecropia episodes, Shirley followed the romance very faithfully even down to the minor details, and did not hesitate to use Sidney's exact phrasing wherever it suited his purpose. The oracle[5] he borrowed word for word; and in the scene where Mucedorus dupes Dametas' family he slavishly followed his model, as the following passages prove:

SHIRLEY P. 195	SIDNEY P. 392
Mopsa is thine, and she were made of as pure gold as this.	. . . . assuring him he should have Mopsa though she had been all made of cloth of gold.

[1] P. 32. [2] P. 60. [3] P. 51.
[4] Gifford ed., Vol. VI. [5] *Arcadia*, p. 230.

SHIRLEY P. 200	SIDNEY P. 399
Mus. Upon some falling out I told you Jupiter threw Apollo out of heaven, and, his deity taken away, he was fain to live upon the earth and keep Admetus' cattle. In the time of his service, being sent to fetch a breed of beasts out of Arcadia, in this very desert, he grew faint and weary and would needs rest himself in the boughs of an ashen tree.	Jupiter, fallen out with Apollo had thrown him out of heaven taking from him the privilege of a god; so that poor Apollo was fain to lead a very miserable life . . . . having in time learned to be Admetus' herdsman he had upon occasion of fetching a certain breed of beasts out of Arcadia, come to that very desert, where, wearied with travel and resting himself in the boughs of a pleasant ash-tree . . . .
Mops. The tree we wot of; on sweet bird.	
Mus. Apollo in that tree, calling to mind his quarrel with Jupiter, because very sorrowful, and pitifully complaining to his father, asking him mercy for having offended him, was from that tree received into his golden sphere, and made a god again.	He had with pitiful complaint's gotten his father Jupiter's pardon, and so from that tree was received again to his golden sphere.
Mop. Oh brave!	
Mus. Having the perfect nature of a god Never to be ungrateful he then granted A double life to Admetus; and because That tree was chapel of his happy prayers, To it he gave this quality—	And having that right nature of a god never to be ungrateful, to Admetus he had granted a double life; and because that tree was the chapel of his prosperous prayers, he had given it this quality,

SHIRLEY	SIDNEY
Mop. Now it comes.	
Mus. That whatsover sat down in that tree In like estate and sort as he did then—	that whatsoever of such estate and in such manner as he then was sat down in that tree,
Mop. Oh, now, now, now!	
Mus. Should forthwith have there their wish.	they should obtain whatsoever they wished.
Mop. Oh the tree, the tree, the tree!	
Mus. The king understood thus much by oracle, and tried, himself; but being neither herdman as then Apollo was, nor of the race which is necessary, delivered this secret to your father, but made him swear to wish by his direction. For his own benefit Dametas told it me, and is now gone to furnish himself with a scarlet cloak, for in that he must be muffled, just as Apollo was. I might now prevent 'em all and be king myself; but what have I to wish more than the love of Mopsa?	This Basilius having understood by the oracle, was the only cause which had made him try whether, framing himself to the state of herdsman, ... because indeed, he was not such, he had now opened the secret to Dametas, making him swear he should wish according to his direction, ... my master Dametas is gone I know not whither to provide himself with a scarlet cloak, ... Apollo was at that time muffled . . . . with a scarlet cloak . . . . they that wish must be muffled in like sort . . . . I rest only extremely perplexed, because having nothing in the world I wish for but the enjoying you and your favour,
which, since without more charming force you yield me, I'll fit you with a cloak, and then wish what you will yourself.	I think it a much pleasanter conquest to come to it by your own consent than to have it by such charming force as this is. Now therefore choose, since have you I will, etc. . . . .

The verses Dametas finds in place of treasure are copied from Sidney[1] and the whole scene at this point closely follows his.

The trial scene again reminds us constantly of Sidney's description, but it is more difficult to find examples of exact parallel phrasing. The following is a good example of the resemblance here as well as at numerous points elsewhere.

SHIRLEY P. 244	SIDNEY P. 464
In things promoted with such cunning mixture, 'Tis hard to shape a square and direct answer.	He has mingled truths with falsehoods, surmises with certainties, etc.
. . . . .	. . . . .
The prince and I drawn by the fame Of the fair beauties in Basilius' daughters, etc.	Then he told his judge how he and Palladius, inflamed with love for the peerless daughters of Basilius, etc.

In a few cases the resemblance is much stronger, as in the following examples.

P. 248	P. 467
Thus then must I pronounce: Diaphantus shall be thrown from some high tower, to meet his death; Palladius lose his head before sunset; The executioner shall be Dametas; Which office of the common hangman he shall for his whole life execute, a punishment For his neglect of duty.	I do . . . . pronounce that Daiphantus shall be thrown out of a high tower to receive his death by his fall. Palladius shall be beheaded: the time, before the sun set: . . . . the executioner, Dametas; which office he shall execute all the days of his life, for his beastly forgetting the careful duty he owed to his charge

[1] *Arcadia*, p. 414:
Who hath his hire hath well his labor plac'd.
Earth thou didst seek and store of earth thou hast.

SHIRLEY P. 249	SIDNEY P. 471
Witness with me, ye immortal powers, this day I have done nothing, but what justice and your native laws require,	I take witness of the immortal gods, that what this day I have said hath been out of my assured persuasion what justice itself and your just laws require
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
But I have judged already, and if right I have not wronged, unless the name of child have power to alter sacred justice,	If rightly I have judged, then rightly I have judged mine own children—unless the name of child should have force to change the never-changing justice.

Shirley's characters are faithfully copied from the *Arcadia* without change of name or of any other particular. His interpretation of the characters is good: they are never vulgar, always courteous and refined. They lack, however, the animation and force of Sidney's creations. The only character introduced who is not mentioned in the *Arcadia* is Thumb, a miller, who plays a minor part.

In spite of numerous parallel passages that might be gathered, Shirley's style is not Arcadian. In the main his verse is singularly free from tricks or ornaments. Yet he was unquestionably influenced by Sidney's style. The following passage, distinctively Arcadian, is, I believe, an imitation:

> It is the wind, that would
> Steal through the boughs to give you more refreshing,
> Whom the trees envy; I do hear it mumur
> To be kept from your lips, which it would kiss,
> And mixing with your breath catch odors thence,
> Enough to sweeten all the wood.[1]

[1] P. 222.

In handling the rustic style of Mopsa he imitates Sidney, sometimes using his exact phrasing as we have already noted. In many places the rustic style is poorly sustained, as is the case with Sidney.

The atmosphere is pure, but lacks the grace and sweetness of the romance. The pastoral background is very little in evidence although the setting is supposedly the same as in the romance, and although Shirley has gone to the length of introducing pastoral songs.

ARGALUS AND PARTHENIA[1]

The main plot of *Argalus and Parthenia* is based on a side episode given by Sidney in the *Arcadia*[2] and scattered in a characteristic way throughout the romance. Sifted out from the main story, it runs as follows:

When the fair Gynicia came into Arcadia as the bride of Basilius, there came with her Argalus, a young lord, cousin-german to herself, "a gentleman indeed most rarely accomplished, excellently learned, but without all vain glory, friendly without facetiousness: valiant, so as, for my part, I think the earth hath no man that hath done more heroical acts than he." Here he soon met the fair Parthenia, "pearl of all the maids of Mantinea," and love quickly sprang up between them.

Parthenia's mother, however, favored another suitor, Demagoras, a nobleman of great wealth and prowess. Before meeting Argalus, Parthenia had yielded to her mother's wishes, "not because she liked her choice, but because her obedient mind had not yet taken upon it to make a choice;" but having once learned to love Argalus she "assured her mother that she would first be bedded in her grave than wedded to Demagoras," and to this view she

[1] John Pearson ed., London, 1874.

[2] Cf. *Arcadia*, pp. 25–31, 40–44, 47, 295–306, 317–22.

resolutely held in spite of all her mother's efforts. Demagoras, enraged by his disappointment, smeared Parthenia's face with a poison that had the effect of making her more ugly than she was formerly beautiful.

Argalus, on first meeting her after this outrage, was naturally enough horrified at her appearance. His love for her, however, remained steadfast; and he urged her to marry him in spite of her changed appearance. She unselfishly refused, and, on his growing insistent, fled the country, he knew not whither.

With his mind centered on revenge, Argalus then followed Demagoras into the chief town of the Helots whither he had fled for safety, and there he killed him and was himself captured. He was soon rescued by Musidorus and returned to the home of Kalander.

Here shortly arrived Parthenia, who had become cured of her disfigurement, and proclaimed herself not Parthenia, but a near kinswoman of Helen, queen of Corinth. Parthenia, she announced, had died and on her deathbed had asked her to marry Argalus, which request she now wished to carry out. Argalus refused the offer, whereupon she revealed herself saying, "Why then, Argalus, take thy Parthenia." They were married at once and settled down to a life of ideal domestic bliss.

Their happiness was soon interrupted by the arrival of a message from Basilius asking him to go as champion against Amphialus. In the contest, Argalus met his death. Parthenia distracted by grief disguised herself as a knight, challenged Amphialus, and met her death at the same hand that had bereft her of her husband.

Glapthorne's account follows Sidney's in all essential points. The chief points of difference are the addition of a comic subplot and the shortening of the time of the

action. No part of the subplot except the names of the characters is taken from the *Arcadia*. The idea of a comic subplot was of course well developed at this time, and Glapthorne was simply following a well-established principle. The shortening of the time of the action he effected by cutting out the incident of the Helots and hastening the time of the challenge. In the *Arcadia*, several weeks elapse between the marriage and the challenge; in Glapthorne's account the challenge is broached before the marriage, and the combat must have occurred on the day after the marriage.

Glapthorne did not borrow Sidney's phrasing to any considerable extent. We frequently encounter passages, however, that show that he studied the *Arcadia* very carefully. Especially is this true at the critical points of the story, as at the meeting of Argalus and Parthenia after her cure, their parting before the combat, the two combats, and the two death scenes. A few quotations will serve to illustrate this.

The Meeting

GLAPTHORNE	SIDNEY
P. 42	P. 43
I am resolved As she enjoyed my first, my latest love Shall on her memory waite.	Parthenia's it is, though dead: there I began, there I end all manner of affection.
P. 43	P. 44
Argalus, take your Parthenia.	Why, then, Argalus, said she, take thy Parthenia.

The Challenge

P. 51	P. 298
Arg. Famous Amphialus	Right Famous Amphialus,
. . . . .	. . . . .
Amph. More famous Argalus	Much more Famous Argalus,

GLAPTHORNE	SIDNEY
. . . . .	I whom never threatenings could make afraid am now terrified by your noble courtesy.
These attributes of curtesie doe speake Your noble natures freenesse.	

Death of Argalus

P. 54	P. 302
Parth. Eternal darkness seaze me:	O day of darkness . . . .
O my Lord, You are reported to be thrall to love; For her sake you affect most, doe not make a breach in ebbing nature;	My lord said she, it is said you love; in the power of that love I beseech you to leave off this combat, ... even for her sake, I crave it.
Arg. O Parthenia! Never till now unwelcome have I liv'd To such an abject lownesse, that my life Must (like a malefactor's) be by prayers Redeem'd from death.	Ah Parthenia, said he, never till now unwelcome unto me, do you come to get my life by request?

Death of Parthenia

P. 63	P. 319
Let me desire you to employ your force On some lesse fortunate Warrier.	employ your valor against them that wish your hurt.
P. 64	**P. 320**
you've done an office for me, that blots out all my conceit of hatred.	I have of them—and I do not only pardon you, but thank you for it—the service which I desired.

In place of the famous epitaph with which Sidney closes the story, Glapthorne uses an elegy which bears no resemblance to anything in the *Arcadia*. He uses the last line of the Sidney epitaph in another place, however:[1]

> Farewell my Lord, hereafter wish to meet
> As I doe, in one tombe, one winding sheet.

In the main plot the characters are the same as Sidney's. In the subplot we have the characters common to the pastoral drama, the inconstant shepherd, a poetical shepherdess, nymphs, etc.

The style of *Argalus and Parthenia* is ornate and rhetorical, and bears little resemblance to Sidney's; as has been said:

> We find poetry instead of pathos, and elaborate speeches instead of passion. Almost everything is good, well-said, eloquent, poetical: but in such a profusion of rhetorical flourishes, poetical images, and dazzling metaphors, it is not possible that everything should be in its proper place.[2]

Frequently we find an excess of "rhetorical flourishes" where speed of action would be far more desirable, and at times this develops into mere bombast; as:

> Surely a mist
> Shades our amazed opticks.[3]

Or,

> Let her name
> Guesse at his appellation that has ventur'd
> This irreligious blemish to white truth.[4]

Glapthorne's imagery is often fantastic; as:

> Could he spit thunder would affright the gods,
> Or wore at each lock of his hair a flash
> Of piercing lightning, ...[5]

[1] P. 31.

[2] *Retrosp. Rev.* (1824), Vol. X, p. 122.

[3] P. 28. [4] P. 29. [5] P. 49.

Sometimes, however, he approaches the beauty of Sidney's imagery, and indeed strongly reminds us of him in the following passage:

> Faire as Parthenia did she stain the East
> When the bright morne hangs day upon her cheeks
> In chaines of liquid pearle.[1]

On the remaining pastoral drama, Sidney's influence is less marked. In the pastorals of Lyly, Jonson, Daborne, and Goffe I can discover no trace of any influence; and with the others the traces are very slight, consisting of a chance borrowing of a name or phrase. Even in the plays of Daniel, who from his intimate relations with the Sidney family must have had a thorough acquaintance with the *Arcadia*, there is little trace of such acquaintance. Throughout his pastorals the influence of the Italian School of Tasso and Guarini is dominant. We are occasionally reminded, however, of Sidney's style in passages like the following:

> Ah I remember well (and how can I
> But ever more remember well) when first
> Our flame began, when scarce we knew what was
> The flame we felt, when as we sate and sighed
> And looked upon each other and conceived
> Not what we ayled; yet something we did ayle
> And yet were well, and yet we were not well.[2]

Not only does the style here resemble Sidney's, especially in the trick of word repetition, but the analysis of affection is of a Sidneian tone.

The following conceits are thoroughly Arcadian:

> thou gentle bank
> That thus art blest to beare so deare a weight,
> Be soft unto those dainty lymmes of his.[3]

[1] P. 26. [2] *Hymen's Triumph*, Spenser Soc. ed., p. 388. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 381.

OTHER ELIZABETHAN PLAYS

The two manuscript plays drawn from the *Arcadia* I have not seen. For a description of these the reader is referred to Mr. Greg's presentation.[1] The remaining discussion is intended to outline the main stream of influence of the *Arcadia* on other plays than the pastoral up to the closing of the theaters. The order of presentation is in a measure chronological. In the case of Shakespeare it has seemed best to reserve the discussion to the close.

Although it is pretty generally conceded that Greene was encouraged in the writing of the *Menaphon* by Sidney's *Arcadia*[2] and used it as a model, and although traces of Sidney's influence are not lacking in the *Pandosto*, I have found it impossible to discover any marked indications of the influence of Sidney's pastoral on Greene's dramatic productions. It is interesting to note in these dramas, however, a steady growth away from Euphuism,[3] a growth which I am thoroughly convinced was due in a large part to the influence of the *Arcadia*.

That Jonson was familiar with the *Arcadia* is evidenced by his discussion of it with Drummond of Hawthornden. That this familiarity was minute is proved by a statement Jonson made to Drummond, that "Sir John Davies used a phrase like Dametas in the *Arcadia*, who

[1] *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, p. 326. The two plays referred to are *Love's Changelings' Change*, written, thinks Mr. Greg, "in a hand of the first half of the seventeenth century;" and *The Arcadian Lovers, or the Metamorphosis of Princes*, written probably in the early part of the eighteenth century. It appears that neither of these plays is important except as showing the continued popularity of Sidney's romance.

[2] Cf. Grosart, Introduction to *Greene's Life and Works;* Dunlop, *History of Fiction;* Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, etc.

[3] It would be unfair to the reader not to admit that the growth away from Euphuism was common to all the Euphuistic school. In the case of Greene many of Sidney's tricks of style were substituted for the less defensible ones of Lyly, which strengthens my theory.

said, 'For wit his mistress might be a giant.'"[1] The passage referred to was the following:

> Methinks that gull did use his terms as fit
> Which termed his love a giant for her wit.

Jonson refers to the *Arcadia* in at least three of his dramas. In *Every Man Out of His Humour* is ironically summed up his idea of Sidney's style.

> Oh it flows from her like nectar, and she doth give it that sweet quick grace and exornation in the composure, that by this good air, as I am an honest man, would I never stir, sir, but—she does observe as pure a phrase, and use as choice figures in her ordinary conferences, as any be in the *Arcadia*.[2]

And in the elaborate expressions used by Fastidious Brisk to clothe the most commonplace thoughts, Jonson may well have had Sidney's *Arcadia* in mind.[3] In *The New Inn* he again refers to Sidney's style:

> Who hath read Plato Heliodore, or Tatius, *Sidney*,
> D'Urfe, or all Love's fathers like him.
> He's there the master of the sentences,
> Their school, their commentary, text and glass
> And breathes the true divinity of love.[4]

In *Bartholomew Fair* the *Arcadia* is again mentioned, but in no vital connection, where Quarlous says:

> Well then my word is out of the *Arcadia* then: Argalus.[5]

Jonson certainly profited in a general way from his study of the *Arcadia;* but he borrowed from it little if any material.

[1] Cf. Drummond's *Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations*, p. 15, ed. by Shakespeare Society, Vol. XIII.

[2] Gifford ed., Vol. I, p. 88.

[3] Cf. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature.*

[4] Gifford ed., Vol. II, p. 367.

[5] Act IV, scene 2.

CUPID'S REVENGE[1]

Source of plot.—The main plot of *Cupid's Revenge* is founded on two episodes of Sidney's *Arcadia*, that of Erona and of Plangus; episodes which are distributed in instalments throughout the *Arcadia*.[2] The Erona episode as told in the *Arcadia* runs as follows:[3]

The princess Erona, daughter of the king of Lydia, caused to be destroyed the images and pictures of Cupid, in which the country abounded. In revenge for this sacrilege, Cupid filled her with love for the son of her nurse. Now her father wished her to marry Tiridates, king of Armenia, and did everything in his power to turn her affection from the base-born Antiphilus. He first told her that Antiphilus had fled the country and, this not availing, went to the length of executing another man under the name of Antiphilus; but all in vain. She remained obstinate in her love, desiring only death when she thought Antiphilus killed. Her father, heart-broken at her folly, shortly passed away, and she succeeded him to the throne. Her first act was to advance her marriage with Antiphilus.

Tiridates, the rejected suitor, angered at his treatment, waged war on her and would have conquered her had not Pyrocles and Musidorus come to her aid. After the war, in which Tiridates was killed, Erona and Antiphilus settled down to a life made very miserable by the much puffed-up Antiphilus.

Artaxia, sister of Tiridates, kept her brother's fate constantly in mind, and soon renewed hostilities, with the result that she captured both Erona and Antiphilus. The

[1] Dyce ed., Vol. I, p. 344.

[2] *Andromana*, a play by J. S., published 1660, is based on the same material taken from the *Arcadia*. As it was not written before 1642 it falls outside the limits of our discussion. Cf. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 330 ff.

[3] Pp. 164, 165, 173, 178, 182, 183, 209, 222, 233–42, 448–75.

latter she put to death and Erona was turned over to a nobleman "by oath" that if by the day two years from Tiridates' death, Pyrocles and Musidorus did not in person combat and overcome two knights whom she appointed to maintain her quarrel against Erona and them, of having by treason destroyed her brother, then Erona should that same day be burnt to ashes.

The Plangus episode is given by Sidney as follows:[1]

Plangus, the only son of the king of Iberia, in his early years, had an intrigue "with a private man's wife." His father, noting his frequent absence, followed him to the trysting-place and demanded an explanation. Plangus proclaimed the woman's virtue so vigorously that the king conceived a fancy for her and so, to clear the field for his own suit, sent his son on a military expedition. The woman's husband dying after this, the king married her, and she bore him a son and a daughter.

On Plangus' return, the queen attempted to renew her intrigue with him, and when he scorned her advances changed her love to violent hatred. She now set about his downfall. First she extravagantly praised Plangus to the king, and then she had a servant darkly hint that the prince was plotting for the throne. Having thus prepared the way, she now tricked the principal men of the kingdom into proposing to the king that he rule jointly with his son. She then sent messengers to Plangus telling him that the queen was plotting his ruin and advising him to leave the country. On his desiring proof of this, they offered to conduct him to a place where he could hear the scheme for himself. Thither Plangus went, armed because of the lateness of the hour. To stir up the king to the highest pitch of fear and jealousy, the queen informed

[1] Pp. 132, 133, 182, 183, 197, 198; cf. also Sommer's ed. (London, 1891), pp. 166–72.

him with apparent hesitancy that the prince had tried to involve her in a plot to put him out of the way and marry her. At this crucial moment a servant rushed in crying that there was a fellow in the next room come to murder the king. The king summoned his guard and, bursting into the room, discovered Plangus armed with a sword. Without giving him any time for explanation, the king hurried him off to jail and sentenced him to die the next morning. From this doom, however, his friends rescued him and would have set him on the throne had he wished it. He cared not for this honor, but preferred to go to the court of Tiridates where he assisted in the war against Erona. After Erona's capture by Artaxia, Plangus went over to Erona's side and occupied himself in effecting her rescue.[1]

In *Cupid's Revenge* we find these two episodes woven together. The first two acts are taken up with the story of Erona, or Hidaspes as she is called in the drama. The account follows Sidney's version up to the point of the king's discovery of his daughter's foolish love. At this point in the romance the king dies. In the drama, however, he has a second rôle to play; so he lives on while the unworthy lover is executed, and the princess dies of a broken heart. Thus the stage is cleared for the principal action, the story of Leucippus. This follows very closely the story of Plangus down to the point of his rescue from execution at the hands of his father. From this point on, the story differs from Sidney's, although it seems that here as well Beaumont and Fletcher are indebted to the romance. The following parallel arrangement will present the facts and the reader may judge for himself:

[1] Both episodes were left unfinished by Sidney.

Cupid's Revenge Act V, sc. 4	*Arcadia* Pp. 206–14
Urania, daughter of the queen, usurps Leucippus' right to the throne.	Palladius, son of the queen, usurps Plangus' right to the throne.
She loves him above all and follows him to the forest where she serves him as page.	Cf. woman-page episode above, p. 8.
A messenger of the queen kills Urania by mistake while attempting to kill Leucippus.	Forces sent out by the queen to capture Pyrocles kill Palladius.
The queen arrives and seeing Urania dead stabs Leucippus and herself.	The queen arrives and seeing Palladius dead stabs herself.

The transference of the Zelmane episode to Urania seems all the more likely as it occurs in close connection with the Plangus episode. As for the other incidents, the resemblance is close enough to give proof positive of influence, especially when we consider that Beaumont and Fletcher borrowed the rest of the story complete.

We may then conclude that, from Sidney's story of Erona, Beaumont and Fletcher took the motive of *Cupid's Revenge* summed up in the title; that part of the story which is concerned with the destruction of Cupid's monuments; and the heroine's falling in love with a fellow far beneath her in station and intelligence. From the Plangus story they borrowed the main plot and details for the rest of the drama. And from the Zelmane episode, and the deaths of Palladius and Andromana, they borrowed the materials for the tragic conclusion.

The main characters of *Cupid's Revenge* are taken from the *Arcadia*. Leucippus corresponds to Plangus; Hidaspes, to Erona; and the queen, Bacha, to Andromana. Leontius, king of Lydia, or duke as he is some-

times called, is two characters rolled into one—king of Lydia and king of Iberia. The character of Zoilus corresponds to Antiphilus in every respect, except that to the former is given a repulsive body, in addition to his other infirmities. Although Beaumont and Fletcher have changed the names of the characters, even in this respect they are indebted to other parts of the romance. Indeed, of the fifteen names making up the cast of characters of *Cupid's Revenge* there are only four not to be found in the *Arcadia*.

There is very little trace of any influence of style. Occasionally, however, a chance phrase of Sidney's creeps in, and in a few places we note a trick used by him as in the speech of Telamon, "Sir, it becomes you or you it the rareliest," which reminds us of such phrases as "the garlands dressed the hair or the hair the garlands." Still, on the whole, neither in style or atmosphere does the drama owe anything to the *Arcadia*.

Beaumont and Fletcher undoubtedly borrowed various hints for minor incidents in other plays. In *The Maid's Tragedy*, Dyce suggests that the incident of "Aspasia fighting with Amintor has a sort of prototype in the combat between Parthenia and Amphialus." The incidents are as follows:

The Maid's Tragedy Act V, sc. iv	*Arcadia*
A woman who has been wronged by her lover seeks death at his hands.	A woman whose husband has been killed in combat seeks death at the hands of her husband's slayer.
Disguised as her brother she forces him to fight by insulting him and is killed.	Disguised as a knight she forces him to fight by insulting him and is killed.

The situations in these two incidents bear little resemblance to each other, but the combats are much the same. One might well have been suggested by the other.

The use of the woman-page motive in *Philaster* is commonly supposed to have been suggested either by Sidney or by Montemayor.[1] A careful analysis of the incident seems to indicate, however, a closer resemblance to the Bandello episode. It is as follows:

Disguise.—A woman disguised as page serves the man whom she loves.

Messenger.—She acts as messenger between her master and his beloved. She is given to the beloved and continues to act as messenger.

Love complications.—She is suspected of turning lover on her own account.

Mistaken identity.—Lacking.

Solution.—She is wounded by the man whom she loves, confesses her identity, and marries him.

Comparing this with the Bandello episode[2] we find that the essential differences are the change of masters, and the omission of the incident of mistaken identity. In this episode as well as in the numerous other episodes with a woman-page motive it is very difficult to determine an exact source. It is safe to say, however, that in a considerable measure Sidney was responsible for its introduction into the Elizabethan drama.

Sidney's influence on Shakespeare has been pretty thoroughly estimated. Mr. J. Hain Friswell in the introductory essay to his edition of the *Arcadia* says:

> Shakespeare borrows Leontes, Antigones, Cleomenes, Archidamus, and Mopsa, and the episode of the bear from *Arcadia;*

[1] Cf. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. II, p. 177.

[2] Cf. above, p. 8.

and, although the *Winter's Tale* is said to be taken from Robert Greene's *Pandosto*, and *As You Like It* from some other source, there are traces of the *Arcadia* in the Bohemia and in the sweet and enchanted forest of Arden.

Mr. Friswell's statement is vague and indefinite. Concerning the *Winter's Tale*, there is no longer any question that it has as a source the *Pandosto*, and nearly all the characters correspond much more closely to those of this work than to any in the *Arcadia;* at the most the names listed above were borrowed simply as names, except in the case of Mopsa, who bears a slight resemblance to Sidney's creation. Curiously enough this is the only one of the five names to be found in the *Pandosto*. It may be said, however, in support of Mr. Friswell's statement, that the *Pandosto* itself owed much to the *Arcadia* and in this way "traces of the *Arcadia*" may have found their way into the Bohemia of the *Winter's Tale*.

In much the same manner was *As You Like It* influenced by the *Arcadia*. "Lodges' *Rosalynde*, which is generally accepted as the source of this drama, owes to the *Arcadia*," says Landmann, "the whole apparatus of the Shepherd's romance." And it may very well have transferred to the drama some traces of the *Arcadia*. Certain it is that in various places we are strongly reminded of Sidney's pastoral, in none perhaps more than in the character of Audrey, who, as has been pointed out, bears a strong resemblance to Sidney's Mopsa.

In *King Lear* the evidence for the influence of the *Arcadia* is much more conclusive. Capell first pointed out that the subplot of the earl of Gloucester and his two sons is based on Sidney's account of the blind Paphlagonian king, a conclusion now generally shared by Shakespearean critics. Sidney's account runs as follows:[1]

[1] Pp. 159-64.

The king of Paphlagonia had two sons, one illegitimate. This latter, to advance his own selfish ends, filled the king's mind with evil reports of his brother to such an extent that the king sought to kill him. The servants appointed to this task, however, allowed him to escape. The remaining brother now usurped his father's power, put out his eyes, and threw him out into the streets. The other brother, hearing of this outrage, returned to his father's assistance and found him in "unspeakable grief," wishing for death. The father requested his son to lead him to the top of a rock that he might cast himself from it, which the son resolutely refused to do. At this point Pyrocles and Musidorus came to their assistance and succeeded in overthrowing the usurper. The father died from mingled grief and joy. The legitimate heir freely pardoned his brother.

Shakespeare follows this plot, changing it only to make it fit in with the main plot. He does not, however, employ any of Sidney's phrasing. The following parallel accounts of the death of the father excellently show Shakespeare's indebtedness to Sidney in this respect:

King Lear[1]	*Arcadia*[2]
but his flaw'd heart,— Alack, too weak the conflict to support! 'Twixt two extremes of passion, joy and grief, Burst smilingly.	(He) even in a moment died, as it should seeme: his heart broken with unkindness and affliction stretched so far beyond his limits with this excess of comfort as it was able no longer to keep safe his rival spirits.

Various other points of resemblance between Shakespeare's drama and the *Arcadia* have been pointed out.

[1] Variorum ed., Act V, scene 3, ll. 196 f.
[2] Sommer's ed., p. 146.

Mr. Morley suggests that the incident of Valentine among the outlaws is borrowed from the experience of Pyrocles among the Helots; Mr. Steevens, that the name Pericles is taken from Pyrocles; and he also notes an interesting parallelism in *Twelfth Night*, which is as follows:

Twelfth Night[1]	*Arcadia*
O it came ore my eare, like the sweet sound That breathes upon a banke of Violets; Stealing, and giving Odour.	her breath is more sweete than a gentle south-west wind which comes creeping over flowerie fields and shadowed waters in the extreme heat of sumer.

And many other parallelisms have been noted by various critics.[2]

Concerning the Valentine incident it may be said that there is a resemblance, but no conclusive evidence of indebtedness. Mr. Steevens' theory regarding the derivation of the name, *Pericles*, has been exploded by Mr. A. H. Smythe, who says:

> The commentators upon the play have usually been satisfied with the conjecture of Steevens that the name, *Pericles*, was taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*, where Pyrocles figures as one of the characters. It is one of the curious coincidences in the history of this saga, even if it be of no further importance, that in the French prose version Apollonius calls himself Perillie, in answer to the query of the daughter of Archistrates.[3]

The parallelism quoted above is one of the many which have been pointed out in *Twelfth Night*. The existence of these parallels slightly strengthens the theory

[1] Cf. Furness Variorum ed., Act. I, scene 1.

[2] In addition to the plays already mentioned, passages have been found in *Macbeth*, *King John*, *The Tempest*, and *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

[3] Cf. *Pericles and Apollonius*, edited by A. H. Smythe, p. 69.

that the incident of Sir Andrew Ague-Cheek's challenge[1] was suggested by a similar challenge of Dametas in the *Arcadia*.[2]

Concerning the remaining parallels that have been pointed out in this and other plays of Shakespeare, it seems that they prove very little beyond what has been already established: that Shakespeare was familiar with the *Arcadia*. That he profited by this acquaintance cannot be doubted; but that he was not influenced to any considerable extent by the style of the *Arcadia* appears equally conclusive.

The plays discussed represent the more important influences exercised by the *Arcadia* on the drama before the closing of the theaters. True, various other plays contain chance Arcadian phrases,[3] and some of these plays show resemblances of style[4] or of the more intangible

[1] Act III, scene 4.

[2] *Arcadia*, p. 306.

[3] Massinger borrowed at least one phrase from the *Arcadia:* "And thus with chaste discourse as we returned feathers to the broken wings of Time." This occurs in the *Great Duke of Florence* and corresponds to Sidney's statement: "They sate devising how to give more feathers to the wings of Time."

Mr. Friswell thinks also that Massinger's famous phrase applying to a mob, "many headed monster," was suggested by Sidney. Neither of these is very vital, and I can find no further proof that Massinger was indebted to Sidney. Cf. footnotes in *Arcadia*, pp. 226, 247.

[4] The scene in Peele's *David and Bethsabe*, where David watches Bethsabe bathing, bears a marked resemblance to a similar scene in the *Arcadia*, where Zelmane watches Philoclea. The resemblance may be due to the fact that the situations are practically the same. I, of course, make no claim of indebtedness of Peele for the situation, but merely for manner of treatment. For instance, in the following passages there is much the same kind of pathetic fallacy employed:

David and Bethsabe	*Arcadia* P. 167
Then deck thee with thy loose delightsome robes And on thy wings bring delicate perfumes To play the wanton with us through the leaves.	and when cold Ladon had once fully embraced them, himself was no more cold to these ladies, but as if his cold complexion had been heated with love, so seemed he to play about every part he could touch.

something called atmosphere;[1] while each in turn passed on its little store of Sidneian influence. That the influence of the *Arcadia* was considerable is, I believe, conclusively established. Of the pastoral dramas few escaped its influence completely, while four are indebted to it not only for their plots but for their characters as well, and show evident marks of Sidney's style. Of the remaining plays, one is indebted for its complete plot and characters; a second, for a subplot with the accompanying characters; and various others, for motives, characters, or phrasing.

The more general lines of influence seem clearly defined. Of necessity emphasis has been laid on tricks of style and the resemblance of otherwise unimportant details because these seemed to afford the most conclusive evidence in the establishing of relationship. Further investigation on the part of the reader will, I think, convince him that the more general influence of the *Arcadia* on the Elizabethan drama was to encourage love of nature, lofty conceptions of duty, and refined courtesy.

[1] Note also the atmosphere of Rutter's *Shepherd's Holiday*. The following parallelism is interesting:

Shepherd's Holiday P. 370 (Dodsley)	*Arcadia* P. 362
Whatever Thyrses pip'd, pleased Sylvia; Thyrses admired whatever Sylvia sung, And both their joys were equal or but one.	His being was in her alone; And he not being, she was none. They joy'd one joy, One grief they grieved, One love they loved, One life they lived.

L Sec 4698.10

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA BULLETIN

Vol. II OCTOBER 1, 1908 No. 4

University of Nevada Studies

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

Volume I, Number 2
1908

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

NOTE.—The University of Nevada publications are offered in exchange for certain periodicals and for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities, and libraries. For sample copies address the University Library, Reno, Nevada.

Anal.

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME I, NUMBER 2
1908

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

The University

The articles that appear in the University of Nevada Studies are contributed principally by the instructors in the University of Nevada, but contributions from other sources are not excluded.

JAMES EDWARD CHURCH, JR.,
ROMANZO ADAMS,
HERBERT WYNFORD HILL,
Committee on Publications

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

CONTENTS

PAGE

Adolf Furtwängler 61

The Identity of the Child in Virgil's *Pollio* . . 67

On Virgil's *Aeneid* I, 249: 86

placida compostus pace quiescit

A Defense of Propertius IV, 3, 47, 48: 92

nec me tardarent Scythiae iuga, cum pater altas
Africus in glaciem frigore nectit aquas

By J. E. Church, Jr.

Professor Furtwängler and Party Resting at the Monastery on Aegina
(Professor Furtwängler sits on the left)

ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER

ARTIST, ARCHAEOLOGIST, PROFESSOR

Freiburg, Baden, June 30, 1853—Athens, Greece, October 10, 1907

By J. E. Church, Jr.

This epitaph is the record of Furtwängler's life epitomized—a life so rich and so active that volumes only can contain his works and yet more volumes the discussion they have aroused.

In the days when Schliemann was unearthing the life of ancient Greece and Heinrich Brunn at Munich was interpreting the beauty of the masterpieces of Greek art, Adolf Furtwängler, who was destined to continue and to merge the work of the two into a broader and more perfect system, began his career. A German by birth and by training, he was early led by his instinctive appreciation of beauty and his power of keen analysis and identification to devote his life to the intensive study of the great mass of largely unidentified art treasures scattered among the museums of Europe.

In his novitiate, passed at Olympia in 1878–79, he gave evidence of his genius in this direction by his *Bronzen von Olympia*, in which he established a series of art types. But the museums of Germany offered him a larger field for study than the slowly emerging hoards of Greece, and he settled in Bonn to take charge of the museum there. His ability, however, speedily drew him to Berlin, where he became curator at the Royal Museum and an instructor at the University of Berlin. Promotion speedily followed, for in 1884 he was advanced to an assistant professorship

there. But now his aggressiveness won him foes who could not keep pace with his enthusiasm nor share his vision, and he became *persona non grata* to those in administrative authority over him. Advancement at Berlin was cut off, and he remained without further academic promotion until 1894.

At this time the death of Brunn left vacant the chair of classical archaeology at the Ludwig-Maximilian University at Munich, and Furtwängler was invited to come to southern Germany to continue the work to which Brunn and Munich had been devoted. It was Munich's opportunity, and professors of world-fame for learning and achievement opened their arms to receive him, counting themselves fortunate that a man who would otherwise have been lost to them had through the unwisdom of the first university of the country been given them as their colleague.

The fruits of his years at Berlin had been catalogues of the collections of vases and gems in the Royal Museum, and his *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* dedicated to Brunn, in which he laid the foundations for a more exact history of the plastic arts. At Munich a wider opportunity was given him in the large collection of Greek and Roman art remains, of which he was made curator, to bring to greater maturity his studies on vases and gems, the results of which are embodied in *Die antike Gemmen* and *Griechische Vasenmalerei*.

But these are only his monumental works. His *Sammlung Sabouroff* and *Sammlung Soruzée*, his guides to the Glyptothek, the Antiquarium, and the Vase Collection at Munich, and his *Neuere Fälschungen in der Antike* and *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* for schools indicate the nature of his less ambitious work,

NOTE.—The University of Nevada publications are offered in exchange for certain periodicals and for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities, and libraries. For sample copies address the University Library, Reno, Nevada.

Inal.

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME I, NUMBER 2
1908

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

the name of the goddess Aphaia, a deity akin to the Phoenician Artemis. These finds he showed me with modest comment when I accepted an invitation to spend a few days with him at the excavations that spring.

Many years since that time have passed and many seasons in the field has he spent searching for new material on the mainland of Greece and on his island of Aphaia. The results of these labors have now appeared under the title *Aegina, das Heiligtum der Aphaia.* If he had to be cut off in his prime, perhaps there was no better spot than the home of the art he was striving so zealously to interpret. Taken suddenly ill on his island of Aphaia with the malady so dreaded by foreigners, he was borne by his faithful helpers to Athens, where he fell softly asleep.

It is the privilege of a pupil to say a personal word regarding his master. I met Professor Furtwängler first in 1899, and was privileged to know him both as stranger and as friend. He was a man of striking individuality. In external appearance he was a German edition of Mark Twain—tall, lithe, with bushy hair, and nervous. To a stranger he might appear austere, and his nervous expectancy tended to make the stammering foreigner stammer worse in his search for words. He had a keen sense of the ludicrous, though he held himself in check whenever his merry laugh would deeply cut the perpetrator of some stupidity, as when a German student upon being quizzed in seminar regarding the drapery of a Greek statue insisted on dividing the robe at the belt into a waist and a skirt.

He was admired by his students, and his lectures were as numerously attended at the close of the semester as were the lectures of some professors at the beginning. He, too, was fond of his students, of the Americans, as well, and to women he gave a generous welcome, even

Head of Aeginetan Warrior
(Unearthed by Furtwängler)

Terra-cottas Representing Aphaia(?) Discovered in Temple Ruins

freely admitting them to examination for the doctorate before such admission was formally given by the University.

He lectured practically without notes, and supported his characterization of the various periods and masters of Greek and Roman art by illustrations drawn from the remotest corners of Europe and even from America until the evidence of his grasp upon art sources was overwhelming.

To the views of others he devoted but little time, unless they were acceptable, and when any theories did outrage to his judgment or his artistic sense, he passed them by with the decisive epithet, *ganz falsch*, or *unbedenklich*. Hence, in part, came the injured feelings of others working in the same field. Yet, on the other hand, he did not hesitate to change his views as time brought further evidence, and he counted it right and honorable for a man to revise his theories as further data and reflection gave him occasion to do so.

He impressed his own method of thought and study upon his students, teaching them to frame their conclusions from the evidence before their eyes. When my approaching examination caused me to consult him regarding the method of preparation, though it was then midwinter, and arctic cold beset the stone corridors of the Museum of Plaster Casts, where within the memory of man fire had never been kindled, he bade me pay little heed to histories of art but brave the rigors of the cold among the casts and determine for myself what others had attempted to put into print.

He was an eloquent lecturer, though his voice was thin and his bushy locks became distracting as his exertion increased their disarray; and the beauty of his language was the constant admiration of the German student who sat at my side—a beauty of diction possessed also by his

colleague, the late Professor Wilhelm von Christ, a lover of Greek literature and to me the last of the old classical humanists at the university.

On Aegina his enthusiasm for work and his love of beauty in its varied forms was impressed upon me anew. In the short space of two months after I parted from him at Munich, I met him again on the island. With the aid of three assistants and the peasants who lived in the neighborhood, he had nearly completed the excavation of the temple. Whenever the excavating was hindered by rain, he would lead the members of his party to the study of Byzantine art in the numerous deserted chapels of the abandoned hill town of Palaeóchora, which in former centuries was the refuge of the inhabitants of the island from the corsairs. On Sunday all would join him for a walk into the interior of the island, where ancient ruins and distant views upon the blue Aegean called forth future plans and deeply hidden sentiment. But we understood his heart best when, after the day's work was done, he led us down to the natural haven at the foot of the temple hill for a merry swim and then along a woodland path, dim and romantic, through the gathering darkness to our quarters.

A few days later I met him again. He was spending an eager half-hour at the museum at Athens. As I approached him, he was standing before a Greek water jar, upon which was painted the most beautiful head I had ever seen on ancient vases. With a glance of recognition to me and a nod at the jar, he uttered almost to himself in language low and affectionate, *Wunderbar schön! Wunderbar schön!* His appreciation of the beautiful had burst spontaneously forth.

Such men as he are the impelling force of the world.

The Natural Haven at the Foot of the Temple Hill

THE IDENTITY OF THE CHILD IN VIRGIL'S *POLLIO*

By J. E. Church, Jr.

The following paper is the result of a long-range discussion indulged in recently *per serium ac ludum* by Professor Rand and the writer regarding the possibility that not the expected child of Octavian and Scribonia, but the child of Pollio, G. Asinius Gallus, was the "messiah" of Virgil's fourth Eclogue, commonly entitled the *Pollio*.

Professor Rand's position, outlined in his "Catullus and the Augustans," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XVII, 1906, is best set forth in a recent letter:

I will grant that despite the address to Pollio, the child in *Ecl.* iv might not be his son (I can say that he *might*—not that he *must*). The tone of *Ecl.* v (Daphnis = Caesar) and *Ecl.* ix. 47, I admit, is the same as that of *Ecl.* iv. But what are the chronological relations? As I conceive it, Virgil was an enthusiastic monarchist from the start; he looked for the advent of a political messiah and the return of the Golden Age (see a very interesting article in the *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1907, by R. S. Conway, who believes, however, that Octavian is the father of the child). Virgil first thinks of Julius Caesar as the type of empire (*Ecl.* v is put early by Nettleship); then, after Pollio's services at the peace of Brundisium, Pollio bids fair to prove the savior of the state, and Virgil pins his faith to him (*Ecl.* iv). But hardly a year later, the tide sets in in favor of Octavian—*Ecl.* ix suggests and *Ecl.* i clearly states Virgil's new allegiance. I see no specific allegory in i and ix (*vide* Leo, *Hermes*, 1903, Heft 1), and think they are both late. In the theoretical arrangement of the *Eclogues*, I start from what seems to me a fact, namely, that no person possessing a sense of humor could

in a seriously imaginative poem prophesy the sex of an unborn child. (The case is different in Martial vi, 3.) The result, if you think premise and deduction will hold, is that Virgil was a monarchist before he was an Augustan. Augustus did not "give orders" to Virgil—it may even be nearer the truth to say that he took them from him.

The entire question has impressed me as possessing the characteristics of a case in court to establish the inheritance of a child, and Professor Rand's clever theory, if presented in a modern court, would go far toward hanging the jury that sat upon the case. The evidence is almost wholly circumstantial, and the only fragment of direct evidence, namely, the statement of Gallus to Asconius that he was the messiah of the poem, is stoutly urged by Professor Rand, who avers that no evidence in the poem is opposed thereto.

Now, as preliminary, I agree that Virgil's poems were the result of his own thinking and ideals, and that whatever urging came from without was the urging of an eager patron whose thoughts were in general harmony with the poet's own. He had an epic poem long in mind, but only when his subject and material conformed to his ideal of epic art did he earnestly set pen to his task.

Compare *Ecl.* vi, 3–5—

> Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem
> vellit et admonuit: 'Pastorem, Tityre, pingues
> pascere oportet oves, deductum dicere carmen.'

and *Georg.* iii, 46–48—

> Mox tamen ardentes accingar dicere pugnas
> Caesaris et nomen fama tot ferre per annos,
> Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar,

with what he finally accomplished in the *Aeneid.*

I agree also that he had pondered long the destiny of the Roman people. Otherwise, he could not have penned

> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
> hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.
>
> —*Aen.* vi, 851-53.

words as immortal as Lincoln's definition of democratic government—"a government of the people, by the people, and for the people"—or Kipling's call to colonial duty—

> Take up the white man's burden.

Was he also a monarchist? Yes, as a man longing for peace—

> Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis assuescite bella,
> neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires;
> tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo;
> proiice tela manu, sanguis meus.
>
> —*Aen.* vi, 832-35.

and finding it in a family, the representatives of which the people of the Transpadane region had learned to trust and reverence since the beginning of his long rule as governor twenty years before. The detailed facts on this point are enumerated at length by Sellar, *Virgil*, pp. 106, 107.

That, however, Virgil was an enthusiastic monarchist from the start who was looking for a political messiah to fit his ideal does not seem to me to accord with the general indication of his published works—unsuitable evidence perhaps, yet the only evidence we possess of the poet's political ideas.

His *Eclogues* should indicate the attitude of his earlier years; and in these there appears no strong political initiative, but a yearning for peace and an oft-uttered devotion to benefactors and friends—to Julius Caesar, Pollio, Octavian, Varus, and Gallus. Love there is for

Pollio, Varus, and Gallus, but veneration approaching awe for the Caesars. In his *Georgics* and *Aeneid* this love of country is joined with broader vision, but the growth has been gradual.

But lest we lose ourselves in the mazes of theory weakly supported by evidence let us rather begin the discussion *pingui Minerva*, and ask whether Virgil could have shifted his allegiance for a time from the family of Caesar to Pollio and whether to prophesy the sex of an unborn child was contrary to the Roman canon of taste.

To the first question circumstantial evidence gives a negative answer. This evidence is threefold and interrelated:

First, the depth of the poet's personal devotion, and the frequent expression of it both before and after the writing of the *Pollio* argues stoutly for its steadfastness. Notice the following chain of evidence:

During the Civil War, Gallia Transpadana, Virgil's home district, stood faithful to Caesar (Cicero, *Ad Atticum* vii, 7, 6;[1] *Ad familiares* xvi, 12, 4[2]).

July 42 or 41 B.C. (?) Virgil, as representative of his fellow provincials, voices to the utmost his devotion and theirs to the memory of Caesar, now deified (*Ecl.* v).

41 B.C. or later, Virgil voices his confidence in the star of Caesar despite his sorrow at the loss of his farm (*Ecl.* ix).

[1] Cicero points out the present awkward political situation and enumerates Caesar's forces and partisans (December, 50 B. C.): "Imbecillo resistendum fuit, et id erat facile; nunc legiones xi, equitatus tantus, quantum volet, Transpadani, plebes urbana, tot tribuni pl., tam perdita iuventus, tanta auctoritate dux, tanta audacia. Cum hoc aut depugnandum est aut habenda e lege ratio."

[2] Cicero writes to Tiro regarding the ultimatum of Caesar to the Senate (January, 49 B. C.): ". . . . putabamusque illum metuere, si ad urbem ire coepisset, ne Gallias amitteret, quas ambas habet inimicissimas praeter Transpadanos. . . . ."

41 B.C. or later, Virgil voices his thanksgiving to Octavian for the restoration of his farm (*Ecl.* i).

40 B.C. the *Pollio* with extravagant praise to a child as the coming leader of the state was written (*Ecl.* iv).

The *Eclogues* are usually confined to the years 43–37 B.C., but *Ecl.* i may be placed even later without disturbing the compactness of the series. Indeed, the order or the time of the composition of the *Eclogues* affects but little the cogency of the argument. There seems to be no doubt that under the pastoral mask and rural imagery the poet is presenting his own experiences; the restoration of the farm (*Ecl.* i, 45 ff.), when the veterans' greed for land had caused the expropriation of even the faithful Mantua,[1] and the reference to poesy through which the farm had been supposedly regained (*Ecl.* ix, 11 ff.) are too extraordinary to represent any general experience of the Italian farmers. If this be so, before the *Pollio* was written Virgil's devotion to Caesar's memory (*Ecl.* ix) and gratitude to Octavian for the restoration of his farm (*Ecl.* i) must have been felt, even if not yet expressed. After the *Pollio* the chain of evidence is undisputed.

37–30 B.C. extravagant tribute is paid Octavian by Virgil in the invocation in the *Georgics*.

30–17 B.C. the same fulness of devotion to Caesar (see *Aen.* vi, 832 ff., quoted above) and to Augustus is maintained—

> Hic Caesar et omnis Iuli
> progenies, magnum caeli ventura sub axem.
> Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
> Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet
> saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
> Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
> proferet imperium. . . . . —*Aen.* vi, 789–95.

[1] *Ecl.* ix, 28: "Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae."

Second, the Caesars had been deified since the death of Julius and were consistently deified by Virgil from the first. No such tribute is paid the family of Pollio, at least not by Virgil, though he gives Pollio high praise and shows him special devotion. Compare the lines written concerning Caesar:

> 'Deus, deus ille, Menalca!'
> Sis bonus o felixque tuis! En quattuor aras. . . . .
> —*Ecl.* v, 64, 65.

> 'Ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum,
> astrum, quo segetes gauderent frugibus et quo
> duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem.'
> —*Ecl.* ix, 47–49.

And the following concerning Octavian:

> . . . . nec tam praesentes alibi cognoscere divos.
> Hic illum vidi iuvenem, Meliboee, quotannis
> bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant.
> —*Ecl.* i, 42–44.

Finally, the summons to the babe:

> Aggredere o magnos, aderit iam tempus, honores,
> cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum.
> —*Ecl.* iv, 48, 49.

Add to this veneration the invocation in the *Georgics* (i, 5 ff.), in which the extravagance of statement of the divinity of Octavian reaches the height attained in the *Pollio*, and the divine care over, and deification of, Julius and Augustus Caesar which form the undertone of the *Aeneid* (i, 286 ff.; vi, 791 ff., etc.).

Third, Virgil saw in the family of the Caesars the savior of the state and made this family usher in the Golden Age of peace and plenty, as well, probably, before the *Pollio* was written, as afterward in the *Aeneid*. The evidence will again be arranged in chronological order.

July 12, 42 or 41 B. C. (?) Virgil joyously proclaims the peace and joy of nature enraptured at the deification of Caesar:

> Nec lupus insidias pecori, nec retia cervis
> ulla dolum meditantur; amat bonus otia Daphnis.
> Ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera iactant
> intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes,
> ipsa sonant arbusta: 'Deus, deus ille, Menalca!'
> —*Ecl.* v, 60–64.

Beneath the pastoral garb appears the harmony and peace not of Theocritus but of Virgil's own longing. The first verse and the first half of the second contain but commonplace phrases applied to the Golden Age.

40 B. C., that is, one or two years later (?), Virgil uttered thoughts strikingly similar in his *Pollio*, joining peace and harmony to power won by a coming ruler:

> . . . . pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.
> Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
> ubera, nec magnos metuent armenta leones.
> —*Ecl.* iv, 17, 21, 22.

In the *Georgics*, which express the poet's published thought between 37 and 30 B. C., the joys and duties of country life are set forth only as they actually existed, the Golden Age being referred to in retrospect and in contrast to the present. Yet Virgil does not lose the opportunity to associate the house of Caesar, in the person of Octavian, with the deities of the Italian farmers as the giver of national prosperity—not alone as the giver of fruits, but as the master of the storms and the sea, and the guardian of the world.

In the succeeding period, when the *Aeneid* was in course of composition, Virgil dreamed of a Golden Age

of national tranquillity and power, with which he also associated the Caesars.

i, 289 ff. (Jove's promise to Venus):

> Hunc (i. e., Julius Caesar) tu olim caelo, spoliis Orientis onustum,
> accipies secura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.
> Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis.

vi, 789 ff. (Anchises in Elysium to Aeneas), quoted more fully above:

> Hic Caesar et omnis Iuli
> progenies, magnum caeli ventura sub axem.
> Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
> Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet
> saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
> Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
> proferet imperium. . . . .

With this threefold evidence of devotion to one ideal and to one family extending over a long series of years, can the royal son in the *Pollio* be other than a Caesar? Only a Caesar had received such praise and deification, nor is the title "Magnum Iovis incrementum" too great, for, if allowance be made for the poet's exuberance of spirit, this title does not exceed other ascriptions of praise applied elsewhere by the same poet to the Caesars.

These facts aside, what were the relative claims of Pollio and Octavian to the political messiahship at Rome immediately before and after the Peace of Brundisium? Did Pollio during this period gain any pre-eminence by which Virgil could possibly have deemed him the savior of the state and the worthy parent of its coming ruler? The facts are these, if we can trust the statements of Velleius Paterculus and Appian:

Octavian and Antonius with Lepidus had inaugurated

themselves commissioners to regulate the affairs of the state by a series of proscriptions that left no question of their absolute control. They had apportioned the empire (except the East, the theater of the impending war) among themselves, Italy becoming the joint possession of the three. Then followed speedily the death of the republic at Philippi and the quarrel over its remains. The Perusian War was instigated by L. Antonius and Fulvia, and was abetted by Pollio, then governor of Cisalpine Gaul. Fulvia fled and Pollio, though keeping the remnants of the Antonians together, was penned in on the Adriatic coast, where he awaited the arrival of M. Antonius from the East.[1]

Closely following this event, occurred the peace conference of Maecenas, Pollio, and Cocceius at Brundisium, to quiet the approaching hostilities between Octavian and Antonius, Cocceius, not Pollio, being the peacemaker.[2]

Antonius tarried in Italy for a time, but his sphere of official activity remained in the East.

In this period of flux, feuds easily arose and were easily mended. L. Antonius was ostensibly forgiven.[3] Pollio became consul, evidently after the Peace of Brundisium, 40 B. C., and was intrusted with an expedition against the Parthini in Illyricum in 39 B. C.[4] He remained in Italy thereafter, alienated from Antonius, but maintaining a distant, though neutral, attitude toward Octavian.[5]

[1] Velleius Paterculus ii, 76, 2; Appian, *Bell. civ.* v, 50.

[2] Appian, *Bell. civ.* v, 60-64.

[3] Velleius Paterculus ii, 74, 4; Appian, *Bell. civ.* v, 45, 48

[4] Virgil, *Ecl.* viii, 6 ff.; Horace, *Carm.* ii, 1.

[5] Tacitus, *Ab Excessu Div. Aug.* i, 12, end; Velleius Paterculus ii, 86, 3: "Non praetereatur Asinii Pollionis factum et dictum memorabile: namque cum se post Brundusinam pacem continuisset in Italia neque aut vidisset umquam reginam aut post enervatum amore eius Antonii animum partibus eius se mis-

Could there have been any doubt on Virgil's part regarding the logical master of Rome? Could Pollio's part in the peace negotiations conceivably have turned Virgil's head? Pollio had possibly aided Virgil to recover his farm.[1] He had, at least, won his admiration and had inspired some of his *Eclogues* (see *Ecl.* viii). He had also won success in war and in diplomacy. But he was politically a second-rate man. By very force of circumstances, Virgil was compelled to choose Octavian or Antonius. Which? The oriental proclivities of Antonius had begun. Octavian had been Virgil's benefactor, he was the son of Caesar, he had not been the aggressor in the recent breaking of the peace.[2] Italy, the beloved of Virgil, was in his keeping.

The dedication of the Eclogue in question to Pollio should in no wise give him a claim to the parentage of the child. Virgil is noticeably inclined to dedicate his poems to one and to bestow in the same poem greater meed of praise upon another. *Ecl.* vi is addressed to Varus, provincial governor, but Virgil makes a place for Gallus on Parnassus with Apollo and the Muses. Likewise are the *Georgics* addressed to Maecenas, his patron, but a large place was reserved at the end for Gallus—a place filled afterward by the episode of Aristaeus, suggested by Augustus (Servius *ad Ecl.* x, 1).

cuisset, rogante Caesare, ut secum ad bellum proficisceretur Actiacum: Mea, inquit, in Antonium maiora merita sunt, illius in me beneficia notiora; itaque discrimini vestro me subtraham et ero praeda victoris."

[1] Evidently as late as the governship of Varus, Pollio's successor in Cisalpine Gaul, Virgil had not yet recovered his farm (*Ecl.* ix, 10-13, 26-29), final restoration being effected through Octavian himself (*Ecl.* i, 45, 46), then probably the only triumvir in Italy.

[2] Appian, *Bell. civ.* v, 28. Octavian speaks before the senators and knights at Rome and protests against wasting the remainder of the Roman citizens and bringing countless evils upon Italy itself, which will become the theater of the war.

Again *Ecl.* viii contains an address of dedication and apology to Pollio, but the address is without name and bears no relationship to the remainder of the poem to which it serves both in position and in thought merely as a prefatory statement.

Finally, the address to Varus in *Ecl.* vi, first referred to, and the address to Pollio in *Ecl.* iv are alike apologies and assurances of the worthiness of the poet's verse. The address in the former Eclogue has nothing to do with the body of the poem, and the only positive connection between the address of the latter and the body of its poem is the congratulation that the new glory is being ushered in during the consulship of the poet's patron.

Vss. 11–14:

> Teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule inibit,
> Pollio, et incipient magni procedere menses;
> te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
> inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.

To Pollio fall the opportunity and the function of being consular patron of the Golden Age. Under his official auspices will this age begin. The disproportion of praise resembles that in *Ecl.* vi. It is here, in this congratulation, that Professor Rand's objection has greatest weight:

> Of course Pollio was the partisan of Anthony. *For this very reason* do you imagine that Virgil could greet the Golden Age on the prospect of a new arrival in *Octavian's* family, and simultaneously congratulate *Pollio* on the event? *Te consule!*

It may have been a sour compliment to Pollio; or Virgil may have viewed the matter differently than we do. Peace and friendship had been cemented through the friendly intercourse of the triumvirs in the peninsula and the generosity and candor that marked their actions.[1]

[1]Appian, *Bell civ.* v, 66, 68.

The poet was impelled to write a panegyric on the peace.[1] Octavian was master in Italy beyond question, while Pollio, whether given the consulship through Octavian's indulgence or in accordance with the original compact of the triumvirs,[2] was a subordinate. He was, however, the poet's patron, and had inspired some at least of his pastoral verse.[3] Therefore, to offer him congratulation on the high distinction which fortune had brought him of being the consul under whose auspices the Golden Age of peace and plenty was to be ushered in must have appealed to Virgil as bestowing not insult but honor upon his friend and patron; and, if Pollio had a heart responsive to the poet's love, he must have appreciated his motive. Pollio had never been a rival of Octavian for the dictatorship, as had Antonius, and could, therefore, accept without bitterness the compliment and congratulation on the peace and the coming child of Octavian.

That Virgil hoped to restore complete friendship between Octavian and Pollio is uncertain. At any rate, such a restoration was never effected, for Pollio maintained his neutrality and independence to the end.

[1] The enthusiasm of the poet is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that he did not await full and complete peace to write his panegyric and thus anticipated the psychological and dramatic moment which presented itself soon after, when the populace forced the triumvirs to make peace with Sextus Pompeius, who was blockading the coast and bringing famine upon the peninsula. The compact was sealed by the betrothal of the daughter of Pompeius to Marcellus, the infant stepson of Antonius and nephew of Octavian. (Appian, *Bell. civ.* v, 73.) At the conclusion of the peace of Brundisium between Octavian and Antonius, the soldiers in the opposing armies had shouted and had offered congratulations for a day and a night. But now the nation went wild. To quote Appian (*Bell. civ.* v, 74, trans. by White):

"When the Romans and Italians learned the news there was universal rejoicing at the return of peace and at their deliverance from intestine war, from the conscription of their sons, from the arrogance of guards, from the running away of slaves, from the pillage of fields, from the ruin of agriculture, and, above all, from the famine that had pressed upon them with the greatest severity. As the triumvirs were proceeding on their journey *sacrifices were offered in their honor as to saviors.*"

[2] Appian, *Bell. civ.* iv, 2.

[3] *Ecl.* viii, 11-13.

The phenomenon of Virgil's dual attachment, that is, to Octavian and Octavian's former foe, continued after the *Pollio* was written and was paralleled by the openly expressed admiration of Horace, likewise Caesarean favorite, for the same man, thanks to freedom from suspicion and jealousy at the imperial court.[1]

The youthfulness of Octavian has been suggested as an important factor in determining the probable attitude of Virgil toward him and Pollio. But, strange as it may seem, the men who were most prominently identified in the struggle for Caesar's mantle were young men. At the time the *Pollio* was written Antonius, the oldest of them, was only forty-three years of age,[2] while Pollio was thirty-six, and Octavian almost, or quite, twenty-three. But, although the youngest, Octavian was in point of ability the peer of the others. Virgil, the panegyrist, was practically thirty. He was, therefore, not so old as to lack appreciation of Octavian, and was young enough to receive him with enthusiasm. Pollio, on the other hand, had no gray hairs for Virgil to reverence nor dignity acquired by age, the loss of which at the hands of a young antagonist he could resent. It was a young men's struggle.

The child prophesied in the *Pollio* cannot have been an imaginary personage; at least, not the child of an imaginary person. Besides, the incident bears the mark of reality—the date of birth, the reference to his father's virtues, the poet's longing to live until the time comes to celebrate the achievements of the prince.

[1] Virgil, *Ecl.* viii, 6–8:

> Tu mihi, seu magni superas iam saxa Timavi,
> sive oram Illyrici legis aequoris,—en erit umquam
> ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?

Horace, *Carm.* ii, 1.

[2] Antonius may have been even younger, for he is mentioned by Appian (*Bell. civ.* v, 8) as being forty years of age when Cleopatra met him in Cilicia during his circuit of the eastern provinces after the battle of Philippi.

Virgil's motive for writing such a poem has already been suggested. To omit the imagery and all questions regarding its origin, the poem is a hymn of peace, the central figure a child yet unborn. Was it a prophecy after the event? Then whose son was it? Octavian had none. Why, too, is the tone of the *Pollio* anticipatory, and why, if to have guessed the sex wrong would be humiliating, did Virgil represent the child as at the eve of birth, if the child had actually been born or was an imaginary child; for what else can the appeal to Juno Lucina (vs. 10) and "aderit iam tempus" (vs. 48) mean, even though the last verses (vss. 60–64) represent the consummation? If the child had already been born, in place of anticipation, there would have been the cry, vibrant throughout the poem,

> . . . . unto us a child is born,
> Unto us a son is given.—Isa. 9:6.

To revert to other messianic scripture for illustration, the tone of the Eclogue would have partaken less of the Annunciation and more of the Announcement of Glad Tidings to the Shepherds, as does Milton's ode, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity.*

If Octavian shifted his matrimonial alliances to increase his political power,[1] and if peace conventions were ratified

[1] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 62. Despite a previous engagement to marry the daughter of P. Servius Isauricus and the immaturity of Antonius' step-daughter, Clodia, Octavian accepts marriage with the latter to cement renewed friendship with Antonius. But upon the breaking-out of hostilities between her mother, Fulvia, and himself in the struggle that led to the Perusian War, he divorced her.

To offset the resulting disadvantage, Octavian (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, v, 53) directs Maecenas to seek for him the hand of Scribonia, the aunt by marriage of Sextus Pompeius, in order to obtain a ready means of coming to terms with Pompeius, if need be, when an alliance between the latter and Antonius would be perilous for him. This second marriage occurred apparently in the spring of 40 B. C. upon Octavian's return to Rome from Gaul at the close of the Perusian War. A babe, Julia, was born probably in 39 B. C., after the *Pollio* was written. Scribonia was immediately thereafter divorced (Dio Cass. xlviii, 34) by Octavian probably because the purpose for which she had been sought in marriage had

as was that at Brundisium[1] and Misenum by the intermarriage, actual or proposed, of the contracting parties, I can understand why Virgil should rejoice in the promise to Octavian of an heir whose birth presaged perpetuity of the peace and power. The people were longing for peace—Virgil sought it ardently. He did not await the birth to express his joy. A male child, of course; otherwise as well no heir. The poet bursts forth in thanksgiving and prophecy, his theme a man child, in language of exuberant enthusiasm and fancy.

But it turned out a girl. The allusions, however, were veiled, as they were in nearly all of his *Eclogues*, and the identity of the child need not be emphasized. The poem could not well be changed without destroying its character, yet it did not need to be suppressed. It was a noble appeal to Roman idealism and as such was worthy of being preserved. Its merit protected it, just as Horace's "Rupilius Rex" (*Serm.* i, 7) was given form or preserved despite its levity toward the slain parent of the emperor, just because the joke preserved therein was too rich to lose.

I can see no reason why Martial's Epigram (vi, 3), evidently to Domitian on the expected birth of a son, should not be mentioned in this connection—

> Nascere Dardanio promissum nomen Iulo,
> vera deum suboles; nascere, magne puer,

been nullified by the implacable hatred now existing between Pompeius and himself. Scribonia's personal unworthiness served as a suitable excuse for putting her aside (Suet., *Div. Aug.* 62). The coincidence of this divorce and the birth of Julia may have been due to Octavian's anger at the birth of a daughter (Dio Cass., *ibid.*); however this may be, Julia was acknowledged by Octavian and was subjected in her turn to a course of marriages quite as diplomatic as he himself had pursued.

Octavian's third marriage, to Livia, a marriage of his own free choosing, remained unbroken (Suet., *Div. Aug.* 62).

[1] Appian, *Bell. civ.* v, 64. Octavia is given by her brother in marriage to Antonius.

cui pater aeternas post saecula tradat habenas,
quique regas orbem cum seniore senex.
Ipsa tibi niveo trahet aurea pollice fila
et totam Phrixi Iulia nebit ovem.

This Epigram may have been inspired by the *Pollio*. The child may be ideal, but the details are against this theory. An unborn son it is, not daughter, an heir to rule the world. Anticipation and eagerness form the undertone of the Epigram. The permissibility of the poem lies in the freedom from constraint in giving utterance to hope of children, evidence of which is found here and there, in obituary inscriptions and other literature, in the uttered regret at a young wife's death.

The following epitaph to Veturia Grata from her husband, Trebius Basileus (Bücheler, *Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 108), in date evidently somewhat late, comes especially near in spirit, though not in form, to the poems we are discussing:

Vel nunc morando resta, qui perges iter,
Etiam dolentis casus aduersos lege,
Trebius Basileus coniunx quae scripsi dolens,
Vt scire possis infra scripta pectoris.
Rerum bonarum fuit haec ornata suis,
Innocua simplex, quae numquam errabit dolum,
Annos quae uixit XXI et mensibus VII
Genuitque ex me tres natos quos reliquit parbulos,
Repleta quartum utero mense octauo obit.
Attonitus capita nunc uersorum inspice,
Titulum merentis oro perlegas libens:
Agnosces nomen coniugis gratae meae.[1]

[1] Now, at least, stop and tarry, you who are journeying on your way, aye, and read the adversity of a sorrowing heart that you may learn what I, Trebius Basileus, the sorrowing husband, have written below.

She was held in high esteem by her family for her virtues; she was guileless, unaffected, a woman who never strayed into deceit. She lived XXI years and

The same freedom of expression is found also in Suetonius, the historian of the Caesars. The incident relates to Augustus himself:

Divus Augustus 63: Ex Scribonia Iuliam, ex Livia nihil liberorum tulit, cum maxime cuperet. Infans, qui conceptus erat, immaturus est editus.

In conclusion, the "Hymn of the Fates" in Catullus' *Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis*, in which the birth of a hero son is foretold—

Nascetur vobis expers terroris Achilles. —lxiv, 338—

and the exquisite lines of the *Epithalamium of Vinia and Manlius* by the same author, in which with rare delicacy and compliment a son is mentioned—

Torquatus volo parvolus
  matris e gremio suae
  porrigens teneras manus
dulce rideat ad patrem
  semihiante labello.

Sit suo similis patri
  Manlio et facile inscieis
  noscitetur ab omnibus
et pudicitiam suae
  matris indicet ore.[1] —lxi, 212–21—

VII months, and bore by me three sons, whom she left of tender age. While bearing in her womb the fourth, she died in the eighth month.

In amazement now behold the first letter of the verses, and willingly read, I pray, the inscription of a deserving woman. You will learn the name of my dear wife.

[1] Soon my eyes shall see, mayhap,
Young Torquatus on the lap
Of his mother, as he stands
Stretching out his tiny hands,
And his little lips the while
Half open on his father smile.

And oh! may he in all be like
Manlius his sire, and strike
Strangers, when the boy they meet,
As his father's counterfeit,
And his face the index be
Of his mother's chastity!
—Martin.

may have suggested the central feature of the *Pollio* to Virgil. In like manner as in the *Pollio* and in Martial's Epigram to Domitian, reference is made to a male child. The expectation of Catullus, however, is ideal and is expressed merely as a hope. But the only difference between the possibly ideal expectation of Martial and the real expectation of Virgil, is in the lapse of time before their realization. An error in the case of either of the poets would be surely noticed, for their verse endured; the possible shock would depend upon the public knowledge and interest or the time elapsed. If to utter such prophecy is *audax*, then Virgil was merely *audacior* as compared with Martial or even with Catullus—and his daring was justified by the fact that his prophecy was in general keeping with usage and with Octavian's desire.

The statement of Asconius, the only fragment of direct evidence in favor of Pollio, namely, that Pollio's son, C. Asinius Gallus, declared to him that he was the child in the poem,[1] is evidence rather of the vanity and ambition of Gallus[2] than of the authenticity of the assertion.

The identity of the child in the *Pollio* does not lie on the surface. Hence the variety of opinions expressed.

After the above argument was formulated, Professor Rand generously forwarded to me a recently published little volume by Joseph B. Mayor, W. Warde Fowler, and R. S. Conway, entitled *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, in order that I might not be lonesome in my obstinacy.

In this volume which consists of a trinity of essays

[1] Servius, *ad Ecl.* iv, 11: "Asconius Pedianus a Gallo audisse se refert, hanc eclogam in honorem suum factam."

[2] Tacitus, *Ab Excessu Div. Aug.* i, 13: "Quippe Augustus supremis sermonibus cum tractaret, quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent aut inpares vellent vel idem possent cuperentque, M' Lepidum *dixerat* capacem sed aspernantem, *Gallum Asinium avidum et minorem*, L. Arruntium non indignum et, si casus daretur, ausurum."

written for the most part without reference to each other and to the independent investigations of Professor Skutsch, I find broadly stated rather than argued the belief which I have endeavored to uphold in considerable detail. If this paper shall in any way supplement their admirable presentation, I shall be fully content.

ON VIRGIL'S *AENEID* I, 249

By J. E. Church, Jr.

. . . . *placida compostus pace quiescit.*

Two diametrically opposed interpretations of the above passage have been offered by commentators on Virgil; and, although the question has been actively discussed for more than a third of a century, some difference of opinion still exists. It, therefore, seems desirable, even at the necessity of repeating some arguments already made, to discuss the question in detail in the light of evidence that has come to the writer's notice during a prolonged study of Latin burial inscriptions.

The first of the interpretations referred to is that Virgil is here representing Antenor as resting in the tomb, that is, as dead; the second, that the poet is alluding not to Antenor's rest in the tomb but to his rest in peaceful retirement after a strenuous life.

The first interpretation has certain support in the fact that *quiesco* was employed in burial formulae as early as the time of Virgil, as shown by the following excerpts from his works and from the poems of Tibullus:

Ecl. x, 33: . . . . O mihi tum quam molliter ossa *quiescant,*
Aen. ix, 445: . . . . placidaque ibi demum morte *quievit,*
Tibullus ii, 4, 49: Et "bene" discedens dicet "placideque *quiescas,*"

and by the inscription *CIL* VI, 7398: "Hic situs adquiescit," inscribed on a tomb about the year 1 A. D., only twenty years after Virgil's death.

Compono was also probably in use in Virgil's time in connection with burial formulae, being found in two

inscriptions belonging possibly to the beginning of the first century and to the period 43–70 A. D. respectively:

Büch., *Carm. lat. epigr.* 1016 (Rome), vss. 3, 4:

incundum, quaeso, corpus ne flete parentes
compositum fato sollicitare caput

Büch. 373 (Mainz), vs. 3:

hic ego nunc iac[eo] | fatis compostum [i]niqu[is. |

This probability is strengthened by a similar use of the simple verb *pono* found in Virgil, *Aen.* vi, 507, 508:

. . . . te, amice, nequivi
conspicere et patria decedens ponere terra,

and probably by that of the compound *repono* in the same author, *Aen.* xi, 593, 594:

. . . . corpus et arma
inspoliata feram tumulo patriaeque reponam.

This evidence, however, is offset by the fact that *pax* with the meaning of "rest and peace in the tomb" occurs first, so far as the writer has found, in Seneca the Younger in his *Ad Marciam de Consolatione* XIX, 6:

Excepit illum magna et aeterna pax,

and does not occur regularly in burial formulae until the beginning of the fourth century and largely in inscriptions on Christian tombs. The few exceptions found in pagan inscriptions—for example:

Büch. 1274, vs. 2:

. . . . *pace* | *fruor placida;*

1339 (*subscript.*): . . . . *(re)quievit cum pace;*
CIL VI, 2873 and 9663*b*: *in pace;*
Büch. 1022, vs. 1:

Hic mihi sunt sédes *ae[terna pace* colendae—

are without date.

The possibility that this first interpretation is the correct one is further weakened by the fact that the phrase *(in)pace compostus* or rather its cognates *depositus in pace* and *positus in pace* or even *in pace quiescit*, if *pace* in the passage under discussion be construed with *quiescit*, occur first, so far as can be established, long after Virgil's time. In fact, the vast majority of the examples are Christian or belong to the period beginning with the fourth century. Compare, for example,

in pace depositus: Rossi, *Inscript. Christ.* 31 (310 A. D.), 97 (348 A. D.), and 750 (450 A. D.) "Hic est posita Rodope in pace."

Hic in pace quiescit: Church, *Beiträg. zur Sprache der Lat. Grabinschrift.*, Th. I. S. 56, or *CIL* XII, 1505†, 1694†, 2127†; XIV, 1959† *quiescunt in pacem;* Rossi 451 (397 A. D.), 751 (450 A. D.); Muratori *Novus Thesaurus Veter. Inscript.* 404, 3 (436 A. D.) "Avitianus fidelis hic in pace Chr(ist)i quiescit;" Büch. 664 (368 A. D.), 684, 689 (469 A. D.), 690 (471? A. D.), 724 (693 A. D.), 732, 737, 1837 (fifth century?).

The evidence in favor of the second interpretation, namely, that reference is being made to Antenor's resting in peaceful retirement after a life of strenuous effort, is obtained largely from the *Aeneid* itself. For example, the passage under discussion, if taken in connection with its context, cannot reasonably be interpreted in any other way. Vs. 241, ". . . . Quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?" uttered by Venus in her appeal to Jupiter in behalf of her beloved Teucrans refers clearly to the rest from hardship attained not by death but by reaching Italy, the Trojans' promised land. If, now, her reference to Antenor has any point, it must have been made for the purpose of contrasting the successful termination of the latter's voyage of exile and its attendant rest, vss. 248, 249:

. . . . armaque fixit
Troia, nunc placida compostus pace quiescit,

with her son's continued hardship, of which there seems to be no end. To refer to Antenor's death in the midst of a passionate appeal would be a waste of effort on the part of Venus condoned only by the fact that she describes such death as calm and restful.

This idea of rest in life after struggle is further emphasized by two other passages strikingly similar in tone to the last in which the words *quies* and *requies* are employed in this very sense, namely,

iii, 393 (Prophecy of Helenus regarding the Trojans' destination):

is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.

iii, 495 ff. (The parting words of Aeneas to Helenus and Andromache):

Vobis parta quies, nullum maris aequor arandum,
arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro
quaerenda.

and vii, 596–99 (Latinus' warning to Turnus):

Te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit
supplicium, votisque deos venerabere seris.
Nam mihi parta quies, omnisque in limine portus:
Funere felici spolior.

In the last passage *mihi parta quies*, "my race is run," represents the extreme of the usage.

To these may be added the passage from Ennius

sic ut fortis ecus, spatio qui saepe supremo
vicit Olumpia, nunc senio confectus quiescit

which Cicero (*De senec.* 14) quotes in illustration of the "senectutis requies."

This evidence is further confirmed by the fact that the phrases *quiete compositus* and *placida composta quiete*, markedly similar to Virgil's *placida compostus pace* are

employed by Quintilian and Varro Atacinus in the sense, not of death, but of sleep; for example,

Instit. orat. xi, 2, 5:

nec vigilantibus, sed etiam qui*ete* composit*is*.

Seneca Rhetor, *Controv.* vii, 1 (16), 27

omnia noctis erant placida composta quiete.

Finally, Virgil employs *placida pace* in its original sense of tranquillity, *Aen.* viii, 325:

. . . . sic *placida* populos *in pace* regebat,

and also in the same general sense its kindred phrase *placida quiete*,

Aen. v, 836, 837:

. . . . *placida* laxabant membra *quiete*
sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae.

To this evidence may be added the cogent argument of Weidener, made early in the controversy, that Virgil for the sake of clearness would certainly have used the expression *placida . . . . morte quiescit*, which is metrically as possible as *placida . . . . pace quiescit*, if he had intended to convey the impression that Antenor was dead—especially since he is known to have employed this phrase elsewhere in this poem as, for example, vi, 522: *placidae . . . . simillima morti*, and ix, 445 (which Weidener might better have quoted): *placidaque . . . . morte quievit.*

Evidence of a broader nature, corroborating the above argument, is furnished by the parallelism existing between Cicero, Virgil, and Horace regarding the "senectutis requies." This rest from active toil idealized by Cicero in his defense of old age is set forth as the burden of the

national prayer as expressed by Horace in the *Carmen Saeculare* (vss. 45, 46)

> di, probos mores docili iuventae,
> di, senectuti placidae quietem.

What more natural, therefore, than the use of the mood of struggle and rest as the undertone of the *Aeneid*—a mood possessing in itself the highest dramatic power.

A DEFENSE OF PROPERTIUS IV, 3, 47, 48

By J. E. Church, Jr.

nec me tardarent Scythiae iuga, cum *pater* altas
Africus in glaciem frigore nectit aquas.

The critical attention of many commentators has been directed to the above passage because of the apparent inappropriateness of *Africus* in connection with the north land and the cold, and its inharmonious association with *pater*. *Africus* has been variously emended: *aetheris*, L. Müller; *tetricus*, Schneidewin; *caelicus*, Housman; *aeris*, Bährens; *acrius*, Postgate; *arcticus*, Ellis; *astricto*, Rothstein; and others.

Aside from its association with *pater*, *Africus* is wholly satisfactory. To the Roman reader, the epithet, *Africus*, in this passage, implied direction no more than did *Aquilo*, "The Black Stormer" (?), as used in the *Aen.* v, 1, 2.

Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
certus iter, *fluctusque atros Aquilone* secabat,

and other winds similarly used so effectively in many passages by Virgil and Horace. As, for example, *Aen.* iii, 69–71, Aeneas sails southward from Thrace with aid of a gentle breeze, which for vividness the poet designates *Auster*, though *Auster*, which blew from the south, would be a head wind for the voyagers:

Inde, ubi prima fides pelago, placataque venti
dant maria et *lenis crepitans* vocat *Auster* in altum
deducunt socii naves et litora complent.

Aen. i, 535, 536, Aeneas is driven southward to Carthage by a storm designated *procax Auster*, though such

a storm would have driven the fleet in the opposite direction:

> cum subito assurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion
> in vada caeca tulit, penitusque *procacibus Austris* . . . .
> dispulit . . . .

Aen. iv, 309, 310, Dido begs Aeneas to desist from setting out for Italy in the winter season, which she designates by the metaphor Aquilo:

> quin etam *hiberno* moliris *sidere* classem
> et mediis properas *Aquilonibus* ire per altum?

In each of the passages quoted the thought runs in couplets, the first clause being amplified by the second, as *placata* . . . . *maria* by *lenis crepitans* . . . . *Auster*, *nimbosus Orion* by *procacibus Austris*, *hiberno sidere* by *Aquilonibus*.

Aen. iv, 562, Mercury warns Aeneas to hasten and points to the favorable weather which he calls *Zephyrus:*

> demens, nec *Zephyros* audis spirare secundos?

and Horace, *Epode* x ("*Ill Luck to Mevius*"), 1–8, gives a catalogue of most of the wild winds:

> Mala soluta navis exit alite,
> ferens olentem Mevium.
> Ut horridis utrumque verberes latus,
> *Auster*, memento, fluctibus.
> Niger rudentis *Eurus* inverso mari
> fractosque remos differat,
> insurgat *Aquilo*, quantus altis montibus
> frangit trementis ilices.

This poetic evolution of the southern Afric wind to a wintry Scythian wind is neither long nor complex. *Africus* was essentially a storm wind, or, at least, was given that rôle by the poets; as, for example, *Aen.* i, 85, 86:

> *creberque procellis* | *Africus*,

and Horace, *Carm.* i, 3, 12:

> . . . . nec timuit praecipitem Africum
> decertantem Aquilonibus.

This reputation was also borne by other south winds, as *Notus*, which brought vapor from the sea.—Horace, *Carm.* i, 7, 15–17:

> Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
> saepe Notus neque parturit imbris
> perpetuos . . . .

Many a phrase like *violentus*, *praeceps*, *procellosus*, bears evidence to the poetic opprobrium heaped upon them; for the evil phase of a wind, though it be seasonal only, becomes its permanent reputation.

Furthermore, the south winds were not always warm, despite the fact that the Sirocco has dominated our conception of their character. This parching south wind was *Auster*, immortalized by Horace, *Carm.* ii, 14, 15, 16:

> . . . . frustra per autumnos nocentem
> corporibus metuemus Austrum

and *Serm.* ii, 6, 18, 19:

> . . . . perdit nec plumbeus Auster
> autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae,

but this manifestation of *Auster*, to quote Horace's own word *autumnus*, was popularly regarded as seasonal.

Finally, Propertius himself applied the term *hibernus* to *Notus;* for example, ii, 9, 33, 34,

> Non sic incerto mutantur flamine Syrtes,
> nec folia *hiberno* tam tremefacta *Noto*,

and *frigidus* even to the parching *Auster*, ii, 26, 35, 36:

> . . . . saevus licet urgeat Eurus
> velaque in incertum *frigidus Auster* agat.

If Propertius has chosen to place other winds less tempestuous in the class of wintry winds, no valid objection can be raised against the similar use of *Africus*. In ignoring the fact that *Africus* blows from the south, he was merely following a poetic standard fully established by the masters, Horace and Virgil. If he exceeded his standard, it was only to the extent of associating a southern wind with a northern land—an inconsistency which would have passed unchallenged had the name of any other south wind been employed.

The association of *Africus* and *pater*, aside from the question of its congeniality or uncongeniality, resists dissolution, for the claims of each as individual words are nearly equal and the ejection of either from the passage is difficult.

If *pater* be interpreted as = *Iuppiter*, as *pater* = *Pluto* in iv, 11, 18,

det pater hic umbrae mollia iura meae,

quoted by Müller in support of the former, the ancient theory that the wind causes the cold[1] (and it is largely correct) can be invoked in support of *Africus;* but if *pater* = *Iuppiter* = *ventus*, as in Catullus iv, 20, 21:

. . . . sive utrumque Iuppiter
simul secundus incidisset in pedem,

the claims of both Africus and pater in this respect are equal.

Again, the claims of each on the ground of poetic fitness are perplexingly similar. *Africus* is rich in literary associations; *pater* = *Iuppiter* possesses the imaginative power inherent in the name of deity; the metonomy,

[1] Ovid, *Met.* i, 55, 56.

. . . . et humanas motura tonitrua mentes
et cum fulminibus facientes frigora ventos.

pater = *ventus*, though more commonplace, is supported by a host of similar rhetorical figures dear to the Roman poets, as *Ceres* = grain, *Bacchus* = wine, and others.

No serious objection can be raised against Müller's suggestion on the ground that the dual use of *pater* in Propertius leads to ambiguity, for *pater* is the natural epithet to apply to Jupiter and the unusual one to apply to Pluto. Moreover, this duality existed in Roman religion, as in the epithets *Iuppiter Stygius* = Pluto, *Juno Inferna* = Proserpina, *Juno Lucina* = Diana, etc., while *Dis pater*, of which Propertius' *pater* (iv, 11, 18) may be an abbreviation, is a common designation of Pluto.

There is another ground, however, on which *Africus* surpasses its associate, that is, in possessing the support of the two passages in Propertius quoted above, and of still others (see examples below) in which the proper names of the winds are employed.

Finally, *Africus* has no MS variant to compete for its place. Indeed, if *Africus* is not the original reading of the author's MS, I cannot conceive how the copyist was inspired to write the word in so unusual a context, in order either to amend a corruption or to replace some other word, unless, perchance, the wintry, windy context and *ventus* at the beginning of vs. 40 led him to do so.

Pater, also, has no MS variant, but it yields somewhat more readily to emendation. For example, *pater* is very like *ater*, "dark and stormy," a synonym for *niger*, which suits the sense admirably, and is quite in the style of Propertius, who characterizes his winds. See quotations above; also iii, 7, 13, *infelix Aquilo;* iv, 5, 62, *matutino . . . . Noto;* iv, 6, 28, *iratos . . . . Notos.* The use of to *niger* characterize storm winds is supported by *niger turbo*, *niger Auster*, *niger imber* of Virgil. *Niger* could

have suggested *ater* to some glossator, the gloss then forcing out the original *niger*, and being itself soon corrected for metrical reasons to *pater*.

If the passage be thus amended to read

> *niger*
> nec me tardarent Scythiae iuga cum *pater* altas
> *Africus* in glaciem frigore nectit aquas,

the poetic quality of the passage would be quite as great as that of the passage as amended by Müller,

> nec me tardarent Scythiae iuga, cum *pater* altas
> *aetheris*
> *Africus* in glaciem frigore nectit aquas,

or by Rothstein

> nec me tardarent Scythiae iuga, cum *pater* altas
> *astricto*
> *Africus* in glaciem frigore nectit aquas.

In its general effect, the passage as emended would resemble *Aen.* iii, 285:

> et glacialis hiemps *Aquilonibus* asperat undas,

Aquilo, the blustering wind, being replaced by *Africus* (*creber procellis*).

But is this emendation reasonable—more reasonable than the long series of emendations proposed for *Africus?* Yet, if Virgil's verse quoted above should not be invoked to the support of *niger*, it adds one more passage in support of *Africus*. Are we not driven perforce to seek an interpretation harmonious to the two words *pater* and *Africus* as they stand?

Pater = *arbiter*, as used in Horace, *Carm.* i, 3, 15, 16:

> Quo (i. e., Notus) non arbiter Hadriae
> maior, tollere seu ponere volt freta,

does not appeal, nor does *pater* in its usual sense seem natural at first thought in such a connection. But evi-

dence presented by Professor Rand in his vigorous manner arouses the conviction that here lies the interpretation we are seeking. I quote his argument verbatim:

Your *niger* and Rothstein's *astricto* make good poetry; if either were in the MSS we should not want anything better. But *pater Africus* was good enough for Lachmann[1] and it is good enough for me. You have defended *Africus* and I don't see the trouble with *pater*. It doesn't mean *arbiter*, to be sure, but it is that genial, familiar use of the epithet to which we are used in "Father Time," "Father Christmas," and to which the Romans were used in *Tiberinus pater* (Livy ii, 10, 11), *pater Appenninus* (*Aen.* xii, 703). Why not *pater Africus* even if we learn thereby for the first time that the Romans applied it also to a wind?

Though *Tiberinus pater* is open to objection on the ground that we are dealing with a possible variant tradition of the parentage of Romulus and Remus—see Horace, *Carm.* i, 2, 17–20:

> Iliae dum se nimium querenti
> iactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
> labitur ripa, Iove non probante, u-
> xorius amnis (i. e., Tiber)—

yet apparently no similar objection can be raised against *pater Appenninus*, which forms the climax of the passage descriptive of the joy of Aeneas at the prospective encounter with Turnus, *Aen.* xii, 700–3:

> laetitia exsultans, horrendumque intonat armis:
> quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
> cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudetque nivali
> vertice se attollens *pater Appenninus* ad auras,

and which is invested with phrase and atmosphere strikingly similar to those of the passage of Propertius under discussion.

[1] The conjecture *Arctoo*, which Lachmann printed in his original edition of Propertius, 1816, was rejected in his *editio minor*, published in 1829—a fact that seems to have been overlooked by more recent editors.—E. K. R.

LSr. 4698.1 D

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA BULLETIN

VOL. III JANUARY 1, 1909 No. 1

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME II, NUMBER 1
1909

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

NOTE.—The University of Nevada publications are offered in exchange for certain periodicals and for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities, and libraries. For sample copies address the University Library, Reno, Nevada.

Entry as second-class matter applied for at the Post-Office at Reno, Nevada, under Act of Congress, July 16, 1894

Anab.

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME II, NUMBER 1
1909

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

NOTE.—The University of Nevada publications are offered in exchange for certain periodicals and for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities, and libraries. For sample copies address the University Library, Reno, Nevada.

Entry as second-class matter applied for at the Post-Office at Reno, Nevada, under Act of Congress, July 16, 1894

Anal.

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME II, NUMBER 1
1909

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FEB 23 1909
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The University of

The articles that appear in the University of Nevada Studies are contributed principally by the instructors in the University of Nevada, but contributions from other sources are not excluded.

JAMES EDWARD CHURCH, JR.,
ROMANZO ADAMS,
HERBERT WYNFORD HILL,
Committee on Publications

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

CONTENTS

The Preparation, Certification, Employment, and Compensation of Teachers in Nevada

By Romanzo Adams

THE PREPARATION, CERTIFICATION, EMPLOYMENT, AND COMPENSATION OF TEACHERS IN NEVADA

By Romanzo Adams

INTRODUCTION

During the last twenty-five years there has taken place a vast development along almost all lines of human endeavor. We are in an era of new political, industrial, and social problems, and we are solving them by means of new methods. All sorts of activities are organized on a larger scale, and a higher grade of administrative efficiency is demanded at every point.

Particularly is this true in the realm of industry. The great industrial organizations of today are able to succeed only by means of the most perfect system of administration possible. Elaborate methods of testing every feature of the system in such a way as to reveal any defect have been invented. The precise power and responsibility of each officer is clearly known, and definite results are demanded of each. No one is permitted to do a thing in a certain way just because that is the way it has always been done. The method is tested by results, and is constantly changed so far as necessary to meet changing conditions.

In educational affairs, however, there have been comparatively few changes in the general system of administration; and such changes as have come are, in many cases, so far as securing genuine efficiency is concerned, ineffective either through the lack of further changes

required to complete the system or through mere perfunctoriness on the part of the officers charged with administrative duties.

This lack of progress is characteristic of the educational administration of the United States generally, with a few exceptions, but it is especially marked in Nevada. The sparseness of our population, the decrease in population from 1880 to 1900, a certain degree of isolation from the more populous communities, and the lack of any effective system of school supervision have contributed to prevent educational progress.

Any general and lasting development along educational lines must come through an improvement in the general administrative system. The legislature of 1907 began this work by providing for an effective system of supervision; and, while it has not been in operation long enough to demonstrate its full value, enough has been achieved already to justify the wisdom of the legislature; and preliminary work destined to be of far greater value is under way.

Several other things are needful, however, to give us a genuinely up-to-date and efficient school system. The matter of finance, including both the levying of taxes and the apportionment of funds among the several counties and districts, needs attention. The question of the sanitation, safety, and educational adaptability of schoolhouses has been grossly neglected. There are not more than two or three well-planned schoolhouses in the State, and the writer has seen only one. But the most vital feature of the school is the teaching. More depends upon the teacher than upon everything else. I have devoted this monograph, therefore, to a consideration of certain features of school administration that are closely related to

the question of efficiency among teachers. Supervision is treated only incidentally because of the considerable progress already made in that direction.

This monograph is written primarily in the hope that it may help to crystallize sentiment in favor of needed educational reforms in Nevada, but the writer believes that many of the principles involved could be applied with equal advantage in other States. The plans here set forth should not be regarded as a legislative programme. Such a programme should come from a conference of the educational leaders of the State and it is scarcely probable that any such conference would favor an attempt to accomplish all the things here advocated—at least not all at once.

I wish to acknowledge help in the collection of data received from six members of the class of 1908 of the Nevada State Normal School: Miss Mary Louise Little, Miss Hazel May Dunlop, Miss Blanche Venus Gregory, Miss Ethel Frances Folsom, Miss Emilie Frances Yparraguirre, and Miss Lila Lavinia Marks.

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA
November, 1908

CHAPTER I

THE PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION OF TEACHERS

For three-quarters of a century there has been in the United States a gradually increasing demand that teachers shall receive professional education and training before assuming the responsibilities of the profession. This demand was, in a measure, met first by a few normal schools, the first of which was established in Massachusetts in 1839. In 1875 there were one hundred and twenty-six state and private normal schools with almost twenty-seven thousand students. Since that time they have increased in number and size, city training schools have been multiplied, and the colleges and universities have added pedagogical departments. There are at present in these various institutions probably not less than a hundred and twenty thousand students who are taking courses designed to prepare for teaching, and the rate of increase has never been more rapid than it is now. It is highly probable that the time is not far distant when it will be considered as essential for a teacher to study for his profession, as it is now for lawyers and doctors.

Of course it is not to be inferred that all who have not had such preliminary preparation are inefficient teachers. Men and women of great natural ability are bound to succeed, even if they work under serious disadvantages, and many such teachers have, through private study, become leaders.

This demand for more adequate professional preparation on the part of teachers is the result of the increasing

demands made upon the school. More is expected of the school than formerly. The old-time teacher taught the three R's. The teacher of today must teach these and nearly a dozen other subjects besides, and teach them better.

The teacher not only needs more knowledge of more subjects, but he needs to know how to correlate them and organize the many subjects into a good working system that will economize the time of the pupil and give him the best values. Without such organizing ability the expansion of the course of study is bound to result in mental dissipation on the part of pupils, in a mere frittering away of time upon many things without substantial achievement in any.

The expansion of the course of study has come because the public demanded it. It represents the educational aspect of the tremendous business, political, and social development along all lines of endeavor. It may be that some of these developments are of little consequence or even harmful in the case of the school as well as in the case of the outside world. The school cannot exist as an institution apart. It is bound to reflect the life of the community. We cannot go back to the three R's. We must meet the demands of a broad course of study and we must secure practical results.

Then there are certain changes in the home life of the American people which have added to the responsibilities of teachers. Participation in the work of the home along with the parents and under their direction has the greatest educational value in teaching obedience to just and wise law, in teaching the child to work, not merely *how* to work—to work for others as well as for himself. On the other hand, when the child works as an employee in a

factory or elsewhere, the work is ordinarily excessive in amount and monotonous in character, and frequently it is performed under unsanitary conditions; and because of these things it is harmful educationally and physically.

Unfortunately the number of children who suffer, either through too little work, too little responsibility, or through an excess of work under unfavorable conditions, is increasing, and thus a new responsibility comes to the school. To meet these responsibilities rightly we need teachers who have great natural endowments and, in addition thereto, all the wisdom they can get through a study of the important elements of the situation. It is in obedience to these demands that the opportunities for professional education for teachers have multiplied.

The constitution of Nevada specifically authorizes the legislature to establish normal schools.[1] The legislature of 1887 provided for a "school for the instruction of teachers" in the State University,[2] and four years later this "school for the instruction of teachers" was recognized by law as the "Nevada State Normal School."[3] The actual work of the school began with the academic year 1888–89.

There are two features of its development to be considered: first, the standard of scholarship, and, second, the attendance.

The Normal School opened in 1888 with a three years' course based upon such preparation as was ordinarily given in the elementary schools of the State at that time. The course included some professional study, some observation and practice teaching in the training school, a

[1] Constitution of Nevada, Art. IX, sec. 5.

[2] Statutes of Nevada 1887, p. 42.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1891, p. 93.

study of some of the elementary branches, and about a year and a half or two years' work in the subjects commonly pursued in high schools. For twelve years the entrance requirements remained substantially unchanged, except for the introduction of a little algebra and geometry in 1891. This was abandoned a few years later. The most important change in the course of study consisted in the addition of a fourth year in 1895. From 1897 to 1900, students were graduated from both the three-year and the four-year courses. The training school was abolished in 1899.

In 1900, the entrance requirements were made to include the work given in the first two years of the University High School, and the length of the course fixed at three years, but students could graduate at the end of two years. The three-years' work was identical with that of the third year of the High School and the freshman and sophomore years in the College of Arts and Science, except that for Normal students a certain amount of professional study was added. In 1903, the first year was omitted from the Normal School course of study, and the third-year high-school work was required for entrance, thus making the Normal School course identical with the first two years of the course of the College of Arts and Science except for the additional professional work. In 1904 this course was discontinued, and a one-year course of a different type was introduced; but the entrance requirements remained, as before, three years of high-school work. The course of 1904 was made out more with reference to the needs of teachers. It included more professional work comprising a study of the more important subjects of the elementary school, and omitted most of the work not closely related to teaching.

The professional and academic standard of the Normal School, so far as it is based on time, depends upon the work required for entrance as well as the work required in course. Counting the time required for entrance, as well as the time of the course, the time requirement for graduation from the Normal School for the various periods has been as follows:

Year	Time Required for High-School Preparation	Time Required for the Normal School Course	Total Time Requirement
1889–96	0	3	3
1897–1900	0	3 or 4	3 or 4
1901–1903	2	2 or 3	4 or 5
1904	3	2	5
1905–1908	3	1	4

The history of the attendance in the Normal School is not a story of constant progress. To the contrary, it shows marked fluctuations, after sixteen years it had the smallest attendance recorded. The number of graduates for each year is given below:

Year	Number	Year	Number
1889	4	1899	19
1890	12	1900	18
1891	11	1901	11
1892	4	1902	18
1893	6	1903	13
1894	10	1904	5
1895	9	1905	6
1896	20	1906	8
1897	31	1907	20
1898	23	1908	19

It is worth while to consider briefly the reasons for the retardation of the Normal School's development.

Nevada has a very small population. During the period since the establishment of the Normal School, there have been, on an average, about three hundred teaching positions in the state. Probably about one-fifth of the teachers for each year are beginners. If all prospective teachers were to take a course in the Normal School or University it would result in graduating classes of about forty or fifty each year. An attendance so large would justify the financial expenditure necessary to furnish a first-class equipment. But while the proportion of teachers who attend the Normal School is as large in Nevada as in most of the other states, the absolute number is so small that it has not been feasible to provide a real normal-school equipment and organization: and so it has not been able to offer the best advantages, and has not attracted many students.

There is a close relation between the entrance requirements and length of course and the attendance. Going away to school is, for most students, especially teachers, largely a financial question. Very few rich people choose teaching for a profession. If the entrance requirements are high or the course long, there will be fewer students. This is especially true if it is easy to secure a certificate without any professional study, and this has been the case in Nevada.

Again the rate of compensation for teachers has much to do with their professional preparation. If the reward is greater, the prospective teacher is willing to make a greater sacrifice to get it, to devote more time and energy and money to preparation. Now, it is a simple fact that the compensation of teachers in Nevada is not large enough to justify the expenditure of much time and money in preparation. Six months' study of typewriting and ste-

nography is worth more to a student, so far as income is concerned, than is three years' work in preparation for teaching. With teachers' salaries, in relation to the cost of living, 30 per cent. lower in 1906 than they were ten years earlier, it is no wonder that fewer young people feel inclined to make preparation for this work and that many of the older teachers are turning to other occupations.

In view of these facts, it seems probable that the more important fluctuations in the size of the graduating classes may be accounted for as follows: The decrease from twelve in 1890 to four in 1892 and to six in 1893 may be due to the introduction of algebra and geometry into the entrance requirements, or, perhaps, in part, to the change of professors in the department of pedagogy. The increase from 1893 to 1897 is most largely accounted for by the relatively high salaries of teachers during the years of industrial depression. While the nominal salaries remained about the same, the cost of living was much lower and the opportunities in other callings were less attractive. A minor influence was the removal of algebra and geometry from the entrance requirements.

The decrease in attendance from 1897 to 1904 can be attributed to two main facts. Teachers' salaries in general had remained about the same nominally, but in relation to the cost of living they had, during a ten-year period, decreased 30 per cent., and the opportunities and salaries in other occupations had become much more attractive. At the same time, the entrance requirements were advanced by including at first two, then three, years of high-school work, making the requirement for graduation five years' work above the elementary school, whereas it had been but three. Here, again, a change of professors in 1902 may have had some influence. So small had the classes become

by 1904 that it became apparent that some reduction in the amount of work was necessary. The increase in attendance since that time is the direct result.

The Normal School of Nevada still remains an experiment. Its organization is tentative, provisional, and its equipment far from complete. In a very true sense it has not yet made a beginning of anything destined to be permanent. While much of its work throughout its history has been highly meritorious, and while it has rendered real service to the State, it has not yet become really a normal school.

The time has now come for the people of the State to consider seriously the question of the establishment of a real normal school. If we are to keep pace with the general educational development of the country it will not do to temporize much longer. There are certain problems to solve here that are different from those of other States. A populous State can maintain several large, well-equipped normal schools, even if only a fourth or a fifth of the prospective teachers attend them, but with our small population we must have a much larger proportion or we cannot offer proper advantages even to those who do come. We must do better than the other States in the ratio of attendance, or we cannot do as well in quality of work.

We need more students in order to justify the expenditure necessary to a proper equipment and we need to maintain a higher standard of entrance and of work in course. Any failure to maintain high standards can be justified only as a temporary expedient. The Normal School's permanent right to exist depends upon the high character of its work.

If the people of the State really want professionally educated teachers of good natural qualifications, they must

pay higher salaries to teachers of proved efficiency so that the young teacher may see something ahead worth striving for. In the second place, school boards must not employ sixteen-year-old girls to teach. At this age, children should be pupils, not teachers. In the third place, certificates should not be issued upon so poor a showing of scholarship and professional knowledge as in the past. In other words, real professional standards must be established in the certification and employment of teachers. Unless progress is made in these various directions, there will be no possibility of establishing a first-class normal school in Nevada.

In case there shall be a proper development of the school system of the State—and there is reason to be hopeful in this respect—it will be the duty of the Normal School to reorganize its work and provide the equipment essential to the accomplishment of its part of the work.

CHAPTER II

THE CERTIFICATION OF TEACHERS

A farmer employing farm workers may be presumed to be competent to judge as to the qualifications of the men employed, because he is a farmer himself. Likewise, a building contractor is ordinarily a competent judge as to the qualifications of the men he employs, because he is skilled in the same sort of work, or at least makes it his business to judge of such work. But the people who employ physicians, lawyers, and teachers ordinarily are not skilled in medicine, or law, or teaching, and so, presumably, are not so competent to judge as to the qualifications of those whose services they seek in these respective professions.

The public, therefore, seeks to protect itself against unqualified practitioners by requiring all who would practice these professions to submit to an examination by experts and to receive certificates of qualification before undertaking practice. Whether such requirements do really give adequate protection to the public or no depends largely upon the ability and character of the examining authority, and the care and impartiality with which the proper standards are maintained. The fact that the public is, by legislation, increasing the responsibility of the various examining boards indicates that they are performing a real service. The fact that there are frequent modifications in the powers and duties of such boards may be taken to mean that the service is not wholly satisfactory.

Our present system of certification of teachers in

Nevada has passed through several stages of development, and in certain respects the development is still incomplete. The original plan was taken from California, and the later development has been largely influenced by that of our neighbor state. This, on the whole, is fortunate, for California is a progressive state in its educational affairs. In certain very important respects, however, Nevada's development has reflected the general educational advance of the whole conntry.

There are five things to be considered in connection with our system of certification. They are: first, the certificate-issuing authority; second, the mode of ascertaining the qualifications of candidates; third, the area of validity of certificates; fourth, the time of validity of certificates; and, fifth, the principle of classification of certificates. The authority to issue certificates, vested first in the local school boards, passed by easy stages to the State Board of Education. At first there was no uniformity as to the method of ascertaining the qualifications of candidates; now the method is uniform for any class of certificate throughout the State. The first certificates were, apparently, valid only in the district in which they were issued and for no specific time. Now all certificates are valid throughout the State, and they may be issued for a life period. The mode of classification has always been based mainly upon the sort of work which the holder of the certificate was authorized to do, but this was somewhat confused in the beginning with gradation according to merit, and the confusion, even now, is not wholly removed.

THE CERTIFICATE-ISSUING AUTHORITY

The first territorial legislature of Nevada (1861) made the district trustees the "judges as to the qualification of

teachers in their districts."[1] No certificate was required by law, and no provision was made as to the manner of testing the teachers' qualifications. School trustees were also given the authority to discharge a teacher for any cause that, in their opinion, rendered his services unprofitable as a teacher.[2]

In 1862, it was provided that the district trustees should, in connection with the county superintendent, examine all teachers and that the superintendent should not issue a certificate without their approval.[3] Apparently this represents an effort to bring in the service of the county superintendent, presumably, a more competent examiner than the average trustee, and, at the same time, to keep the full authority in the hands of the trustees.

The first State Legislature placed the examining and certificate-issuing authority in the several county boards of examination, but these boards of examination were appointed by the State Superintendent, and he was a member *ex officio* of each county board.[4] This, in effect, put the whole matter under the control of the State Superintendent. This change from the extreme of local control to the other extreme of a completely centralized control probably points to marked dissatisfaction with the actions of the local district trustees, but apparently the time was not ripe for so great a change, probably because the State Superintendent who was not, by profession, an educator, did not exercise his power with any positive policy or with beneficent results. After four years, the State Superintendent was removed from the county boards of examination and their appointment was vested in the respective county superintendents.[5] In 1873 the county superin-

[1] Laws of Territory of Nevada 1861, p. 377. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 278. [3] *Ibid.*, 1862, p. 111.
[4] Statutes of Nevada 1864-65, p. 424. [5] *Ibid.*, 1869, p. 174.

tendent was made, *ex officio*, a member of the board and the other two members continued to be appointed by him.[1] After this date, the constitution of the county board of examination remained unchanged until 1907 when the board was abolished.[2]

There were, however, many modifications touching the authority of the county board, and, in general, they reduced its power and vested the authority more and more in the State Board of Education. The State Board of Education was created by the first State Legislature, and its members were the Governor, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the Surveyor-General, all *ex officio*.[3] In 1895 the President of the University of Nevada was substituted for the Surveyor-General.[4]

Until 1885, the county boards of examination were the sole certificate-issuing authorities, and they were each practically independent in the making-out of questions, the grading of papers, and the fixing of standards, and to some extent in the selection of subjects for examination. There was a provision in the original law that the county boards of examination should be governed by rules adopted by the State Board of Education,[5] but it is probable that the State Board did not exercise its discretionary power, for, in 1885, it was directed by law to adopt a uniform system of rules for examinations and also to prescribe the subjects for examination for each class of certificate issued by the county boards.[6] The State Board was authorized at this time to grant life diplomas, educational diplomas, and state certificates, and, under certain conditions, to validate county certificates for the whole State.[7]

[1] Statutes of Nevada 1873, p. 156. [2] *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 382.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1864-65, p. 413. [4] *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 81. [5] *Ibid.*, 1864-65, p. 424.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1885, p. 110. [7] *Ibid.*, 1885, pp. 110, 111.

In 1893 the State Board was directed to furnish uniform questions for all county examinations,[1] and in 1899 it was authorized to issue special certificates[2] for teaching certain specified subjects, and temporary certificates[3] valid only in specified districts and only until the next examination.

As early as 1873, the county boards of examination had been directed to issue a certificate without examination to any holder of a life diploma[4] from any State, and to any holder of a diploma of graduation from a California normal school. By a series of acts extending from 1885 to 1895 the State Board of Education was authorized to issue certificates to holders of diplomas from all State normal schools and from the University of Nevada and to holders of life diplomas issued in other States.[5]

In 1907, the county boards of examination were abolished, and all certificating authority was vested in the State Board assisted by a board of educational examiners appointed by the State Superintendent.[6]

This constant tendency toward centralization in the certificate-issuing authority is not the result of any doctrinaire theory. It merely represents a series of attempts to secure greater efficiency, and the fact that, with a single exception, and that more apparent than real, all of these efforts looked in the same general direction, may be taken as evidence that they were measurably successful, that each change brought some degree of improvement and so, argued in favor of further change along the same general lines.

[1] Statutes of Nevada 1893, p. 102. [2] *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 87. [3] *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 96.

[4] A life diploma is a teacher's certificate and is to be distinguished from a diploma of graduation.

[5] Statutes of Nevada 1885, p. 111; *ibid.*, 1887, p. 44; *ibid.*, 1891, p. 93; *ibid.*, 1895, p. 89; *ibid.*, 1895, pp. 81, 82.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 382.

The practical advantages of the centralization of authority in this particular instance are evident. In the first place, it secures superior qualifications on the part of the examiners. Under the old school-board system, it frequently happened that the members of the school board were absolutely incapable of judging of the applicant's scholarship. The necessity of repeating these uncertain examinations whenever a teacher moved to a new district was an annoyance to teachers and school boards alike, and they did not encourage the teacher to make systematic professional preparation, for such preparation, very probably, would not count in their favor with examiners.

The county boards of examination generally performed more efficient service. Frequently the county superintendent was a well-educated man, and his list of appointees were in many cases the best-qualified teachers of the county. If this had been the case in every instance there would have been less objection to the system. In altogether too many instances, however, the members of county boards of examination lacked the necessary scholarship to grade the papers correctly. In some instances, persons who could not themselves answer many of the questions proposed by the State Board were, as members of the county boards of education, charged with the duty of grading the papers of applicants. In other instances, certificates were issued to all applicants no matter what their grade might be; and, in one county it was said to be the custom of a member of the examining board to open the questions, read them, and then remark to the candidates, "Oh, I guess you can answer these questions," and then, without examination, proceed to issue certificates to all who wanted them. In some counties, the boards have been charged with favoritism to the extent of fur-

nishing the questions in advance and coaching prospective candidates on the questions, and in a very few cases bribery has been charged. Such abuses, while not the rule, were sufficiently numerous to destroy, in a large measure, the efficiency of the system, and to create a demand for its abolition.

Certificates issued by the county boards of examination were valid throughout the county, but they could not be of State-wide validity. In order to give them such validity it was necessary to bring the system under the control of the State Board. The series of laws giving the State Board authority to make rules, to prescribe subjects and questions, and to examine papers was designed to remedy this defect.

In general the advantages of the present system of examination under the authority of the State Board of Education are: (1) A higher standard of qualification for examiners is maintained; (2) Uniformity in subject-matter, questions, and grading is secured; (3) Less opportunity for, and temptation to, favoritism is afforded; (4) State-wide validity for all certificates is feasible.

METHODS OF TESTING CANDIDATES

There are several ways by means of which the certificate-issuing authority may satisfy itself as to the qualifications of candidates. These are the oral examination, the written examination, the evidence furnished by diplomas of graduation from normal schools, colleges, and universities, and the testimony of superintendents and patrons as to the character of the teacher's previous experience. In the hands of capable examiners, a combination of all these methods is the best.

By means of the oral examination, the candidate is able

to show certain elements of qualification such as self-possession, alertness, expression in reading and conversation, quality of voice, command of language, ability to explain, earnestness of manner, and ability to hold attention. The written examination cannot reveal these in a satisfactory way.

On the other hand, the written examination is better as a means of determining certain elements of scholarship, and it supplies permanent evidence of record. Likewise, the diploma of graduation has its value as evidence of scholarship and sometimes of professional training, and the value is greater if the diploma be accompanied by an exact statement of the amount and character of the work done in each subject. Such statements coming from an institution of high character are even better evidences as to scholarship than are the results of an examination, for they usually represent several examinations and a more or less accurate personal knowledge of the student's acquirements based upon daily contact in the classroom. The testing is more complete, and hence mere luck and cramming count for less.

Again there are certain elements of qualification that cannot be tested adequately in any way except by actual experience in the schoolroom. Good scholarship alone is not enough, not even if a knowledge of the principles and methods of education are included. Brilliant scholars sometimes fail in teaching, and some of more moderate intellectual ability succeed. Certainly, evidence as to actual work is the most important of all, provided it be evidence according to the opinions of those competent to render accurate and unbiased judgment.

The method of testing employed by district school boards was somewhat uncertain, but at its best the various

members of the board asked questions designed to test the teacher's proficiency in reading, spelling, and arithmetic, and also to test his good sense in school management and discipline. They formed an opinion as to his clearness of thought, his force of character, energy and earnestness, by his general conversation and manner. By later school visitation, they were able to judge as to the ability of the teacher to keep order and keep the pupils at their books. In comparatively few instances, were they able to pass judgment upon the methods of instruction used or upon the progress of the children in their studies. At its worst, the members of the school board aired their whims, hobbies, prejudices, and grudges, in examining teachers and in inspecting schools, and often made more or less ludicrous attempts to show off their knowledge and to maintain the dignity and importance of their position. This is not an indictment of these men as men, but it is merely an acknowledgment that they, like all the rest of us, had their limitations. We all make a poor showing when we leave the region of our knowledge and practical experience.

The examinations administered by the county boards of examination were mainly, if not exclusively, by means of written answers to questions. This secured uniformity at least so far as the questions were concerned for each county, but the questions varied greatly among the counties until 1885, after which they were issued by the State Board for all counties.[1] But as long as the answers were graded by many boards, there could be no uniformity in the practical outcome. One examiner might mark a paper as high as ninety-five, while another would grade it at only fifty. It takes considerable ability and care to grade papers justly.

[1] Statutes of Nevada 1885, p. 110.

With a minor exception, there was no way previous to 1885 whereby a certificate could be secured except by examination by the county board of examination. In that year two principles were recognized: first, that a certificate might be issued partly on the basis of continued successful experience,[1] and second, that a certificate might be issued on the basis of normal-school graduation.[2] At the same time the State-line barriers were partly broken down by the recognition of life certificates of other States.[2] In 1887, 1891, and 1895, special recognition was given to the graduates of the Nevada State Normal School and to graduates of the University,[3] and in 1907, recognition was extended to the graduates of all normal schools, colleges, and universities approved by the State Board of Education.[4]

Beginning, thus, with a simple system of oral examinations, the State passed to the written examination and then to a system embracing examinations, and recognition of diplomas of graduation, life certificates, and testimonials as to experience. This, in a general way, represents progress in the right direction, but in certain respects our system needs modification. In the first place all certificates to inexperienced persons whether granted on the basis of examination, or graduation, or both, should be issued for a short period, probably one year, and in later certificates the element of experience should count. Second, examinations should not be so largely written, but the oral element should be more prominent. Third, diplomas of graduation should not necessarily be accepted as complete evidence, but a statement of the exact work accomplished should be required, and such work should be accepted only so far as

[1] Statutes of Nevada 1885, p. 110.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 44; 1891, p. 93; 1895, pp. 81, 82.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 384.

proper and, in many cases, such evidence should be supplemented by examination in certain subjects. Thus every certificate excepting those of the inexperienced, would be based on evidence given, first, by oral examination; second, by written examination; and third, by experience, or by the evidence of graduation and experience.

AREA OF VALIDITY

The territorial certificates were, apparently, valid only in the district in which they were issued. The early certificates issued under State law were valid in the county of issue. In 1885 the State Board of Education was authorized to make a county certificate valid for the entire State upon the recommendation of the county superintendent,[1] and in 1893 it was made the duty of the State Superintendent to inspect the original examination papers of all teachers applying for such validation and the State Board was authorized to act only in case the papers were satisfactory.[2]

The various classes of certificates which the State Board of Education was authorized to issue after 1885 were all of State-wide validity, and in 1907, all limitations were removed so far as new certificates are concerned, by making the State Board the sole certificate-issuing authority. As far back as 1873, the county boards of examination were directed to issue certificates based on life diplomas of other States, and later this power was conferred upon the State Board. Thus were these certificates given what amounted practically to interstate validity.

The tendency toward an enlargement of the area of validity is evident and the reasons therefor not far to seek. The primary purpose of restricting the validity of a cer-

[1] Statutes of Nevada 1885, p. 111. [2] *Ibid.*, 1893, p. 102.

tificate to a district or a county was a distrust of the work done by the boards of examination. Had the certificates issued by each district board or by each county board been valid everywhere, it would have enabled the most incompetent examiners to set the standard. Indeed, this is just what happened to some extent under the system of state validation above described. But with county validity each county board of examination could, if it wished, establish a high standard for its own county.

But there were certain practical disadvantages connected with the restriction. It interfered with the freedom of school boards and teachers, and bothered the county superintendent and county boards with extra examinations whenever a teacher moved to another county. At the same time it did not actually subserve any educational use in the majority of instances. What was designed for protection became, in fact, hardly more than an annoyance. One of the important advantages of the abolition of the county examining boards is that on account of the uniformity of questions and grading all certificates may, under efficient administration by the State Board, be valid throughout the State without risk of the standard deteriorating.

TIME OF VALIDITY

The territorial certificates had no specified time during which they were valid. Apparently this was at the option of the employing board of trustees. Under the State law of 1864–65, first-grade county certificates were issued for two years and second-grade for one year. In 1885, the first grade was made valid for three years and the second grade for two years.

County certificates were reclassified in 1895, after which

time the high-school grade was issued for four years, the grammar grade for three years, and the primary grade for two years.[1]

In general, the certificates issued by the State Board of Education were for a longer period. In 1885, life diplomas, State educational diplomas valid for six years, and State certificates valid for three years were authorized by the Legislature.[2] The life diplomas were to be issued only to teachers who had had ten years of successful experience, and the educational diplomas to teachers of at least five years' experience. In 1891, five years was fixed as the period of the certificates issued to graduates of the Nevada State Normal School, and after five years' successful experience such graduates were entitled to life diplomas.[3] According to an act of 1895, graduates of the Liberal Arts course of the University of Nevada, who had taken two courses in pedagogy, were to receive State certificates "unlimited"—that is, life certificates.[4] This last provision was repealed in 1907, and the five-year certificate substituted.[5]

In 1899, provision was made for special certificates[6] valid for two years and for temporary certificates[7] good only until the next examination.

Lawyers and physicians receive certificates or diplomas valid for life. Why, then, are teachers required to submit to more or less frequent re-examination? The main reason is to be found in the fact that lawyers and physicians ordinarily make a considerable professional preparation before attempting to perform the duties of their professions while the majority of teachers do not make such preparation. Until within a generation, very few teachers devoted

[1] Statutes of Nevada 1895, p. 87. [2] *Ibid.*, 1885, p. 110. [3] *Ibid.*, 1891, p. 93. [4] *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 81. [5] *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 384. [6] *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 87. [7] *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 96.

any time whatever to specific preparation for teaching. A second and related reason is found in the fact that teaching is not the life vocation but a mere temporary makeshift occupation for many teachers.

Assuming the candidate to be an inexperienced boy or girl who has given only such evidence of capacity as can be offered by an examination in the elementary-school subjects, there is abundant reason why there should not be issued a certificate or diploma valid for life, or even a long period of years. Indeed, it might be fairly well established that no certificate at all should be granted. But when an experienced teacher furnishes adequate evidence of real professional qualifications, there is every reason why the State should give him the same professional recognition accorded to members of the other professions.

It might be maintained that no certificates should be issued except to those who have given evidence not only of sufficiently broad and accurate scholarship, but of natural capacity and of successful professional study, and of such training and experience as may be secured in well-equipped normal schools, colleges, or universities. Probably we will come to this some day, but, in the meantime, it is desirable to make the examination as effective as possible in stimulating those who begin without professional preparation to make that preparation while engaged in the work. To accomplish this most effectively two classes should be recognized: first, the professional teacher with a life certificate, and second, the beginner who should receive a series of one-year certificates, each after the first being issued only on condition that the candidate shall have carried on an approved course of professional or academic study and shall have achieved reasonable success in his teaching during the preceding year. When

such beginners have attained certain professional qualifications, they should receive life certificates. This should result in a constantly increasing number of professional teachers.

CLASSIFICATION OF CERTIFICATES

Teachers' certificates are classified according to two general plans, or the combination of the two. The older plan, and the one most commonly used even yet, classifies the certificate into two or three grades according to the merit of the holder. This may be designated as the merit plan. The newer way is to classify the candidates according to the special work for which the holder is qualified. This may be called the special-work plan.

Where the simplest form of the merit plan is used, all teachers are examined in the same subjects and in the same way, and those applicants who show superior merit are given first-grade certificates, while those of less merit receive certificates of a second or third grade. All certificates, however, have the same legal character — entitling the holders to teach any subject or any grade in the public schools. In some States, this simple method is modified by requiring candidates for the higher grades to be examined in more advanced subjects, such as algebra, geometry, physics, and political economy, from which other candidates are excused; but in such cases the advanced work represents superior general education, not special preparation to teach these subjects.

This plan had its origin in the old times when all teachers did essentially the same sort of work. The public high school and the kindergarten are comparatively recent in their development. Music, drawing, manual training, and other subjects for which special teachers are provided, are still more recent. Even the system of graduation in

city schools extends hardly beyond the memory of men now living; and before that even the city-school system, if system it could be called, was made up of many one-teacher schools in which each teacher taught all grades and all subjects. When all teachers did the same sort of work there was no reason for any distinction between certificates except that of general merit.

But now that teaching has become to a large extent specialized, it is coming to be perceived that the certificate should designate the special sort of work for which the holder is qualified. It is hardly probable that any teacher is qualified for all sorts of work from the kindergarten to the high school, and very few, indeed, are able to teach all the subjects now included in the high-school course of study. If the certificate certifies to qualifications which the holder does not possess, it is no protection to the public where the wanting qualifications are demanded. In other words, the older system was all right so far as the old elementary school was concerned, but is of no value in relation to kindergartens, high schools, and special-subject teachers.

It is not to be inferred that under the old plan good teachers were not sometimes secured for such positions. When school boards and superintendents understand that teachers' certificates have no special relation to these various sorts of work, they may, and often do, require other and adequate evidences as to the candidate's qualifications as a condition to election. If all officials charged with the responsibilities of selecting teachers were in the habit of exercising such intelligent discretion, there would be no need of any certificates at all. But since such is not the case, it is not wise to leave these newer features of our school system entirely outside of the system of certification.

It is in response to this need that the newer or special-work plan of classification has been invented. According to this plan, candidates are examined with reference to the special work which they wish to do, and several corresponding classes of certificates are issued. One will be good for teaching certain specified subjects in the high school; another for the kindergarten; another for the lower or the advanced grades of the elementary school, or, perhaps for all grades in a rural school, and still another for some specified subject such as music, drawing, or manual training. The ideal is to have the certificate system correspond with the school system. It is not expedient to maintain certain antiquated features in the school system while others are modernized. It is sure to result in misfits.

So far as the writer has been able to learn, California has the honor of inventing the newer plan of classification according to special work.[1] Like most useful inventions, it involved a correct principle, but was not designed in such a way as to realize its full value; and, consequently, for a considerable period, we find that State gradually perfecting its plan until it has become, in certain important respects, the best in the United States.

In 1865, almost immediately after the invention of the crude special-work plan in California, it was copied into the Nevada law with one important modification. California, in its first law, had left the high school outside of the system, making first-grade certificates valid for teaching in unclassified and grammar schools and second-grade certificates valid for primary schools. The Nevada law included the high school with the grammar schools without distinction. This half recognition of a principle was

[1] California Statutes 1862, p. 473; 1863, pp. 201, 206, 207; 1866, p. 407.

unwise, and the certificates were misleading in that they purported to stand for certain specific qualifications for high-school work, but they did not in reality represent any qualifications not required of teachers of grammar schools. While California made definite provision for her high schools in 1866, it was not until 1895 that this confusion was removed so far as the law was concerned in Nevada, and the force of custom has been so great that it still exists to some extent in practice.

In 1895, legal provision was made for three classes of county certificates, as follows: high-school grade, valid for teaching in all grades; grammar grade, valid for teaching unclassified grammar and primary schools; primary grade, valid for teaching a primary school.[1] At the same time, the examination subjects for each grade of certificate were prescribed by law.[2] As the State Board was charged with the duty of preparing all examination questions, it now had ample power to make a real and adequate distinction between the grammar-grade and high-school grade certificates. But no provision was made for a recognition of qualifications in the special subjects of the high-school course. All candidates for high-school certificates now have to be examined in the same subjects. This leads to some incongruous results in practice. The teacher who wishes to teach French must be examined in chemistry and astronomy, but not in French. The prospective teacher of Latin is authorized to teach four years' Latin, but is examined in the work of less than two years in that subject. The elective principle, which has played so prominent a part in the recent development of our high schools is utterly ignored in our system of certification,

[1] Statutes of Nevada 1895, pp. 87, 110.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

and in this respect Nevada is behind many of the other States.

This failure to recognize the elective principle is unjust both to the teacher and to the schools. Why should a candidate who expects to teach Latin and French be required to take an examination in chemistry and astronomy? Why should the manual-training teacher be required to know Latin? On the other hand, of what value is a certificate, so far as public protection is concerned, if it authorizes teachers to teach subjects of which they are completely ignorant? If a high-school certificate is to serve its purpose, it must specify the subjects which the holder is qualified to teach.

There is just one difficulty in the way of this plan, and a certain modification would have to be made to meet this. I refer to the small high school in which one teacher does all of the work. It might be necessary to issue a special type of certificate for teaching in such schools. By authorizing the issue of the special certificates in music, drawing, penmanship, kindergarten work, the foreign languages,[1] and manual training[2] by the State Board of Education, the legislature has obviated some of the difficulties in the system.

In certain respects, the high-school certificate is treated as if it represented higher general merit. For instance, high-school certificates are made valid for teaching in all grades. It does not follow by any means that the qualifications essential to good high-school teaching constitute the qualifications for good primary teaching. The primary certificate should be demanded for primary work, and with as good reason as is the high-school certificate

[1] Statutes of Nevada 1899, p. 87.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1907, p. 385.

demanded for high-school work. Again, the high-school certificate is made valid for four years, while the primary certificate is valid for only two years. If the holder of a primary certificate gives evidence of as great qualifications for primary work as does the holder of a high-school certificate for high-school work, there is no reason why the primary certificate should not be issued for as long a time as the high-school certificate.

The distinction between the primary teacher and the high-school teacher is not, and should not be, one of general merit but of specific merit. In general, the primary teacher should be as good a teacher as the high-school teacher, but each should be superior in his special work.

CHAPTER III

THE EMPLOYMENT OF TEACHERS

The State of Nevada employs somewhat more than three hundred and fifty teachers to teach about ten thousand pupils, at an annual total cost for teachers and equipment of more than a third of a million dollars. This is a rather large investment of time and money. Whether it yields satisfactory educational returns or no depends chiefly upon the general efficiency of the teaching force; and the efficiency of the teaching force depends very largely upon the system of employment and promotion.

When large numbers of men and women are employed where considerable skill and fidelity are required, success in maintaining a high average of efficiency depends on the observation of certain principles, and this applies especially to the employment of teachers. The character of the work, the conditions of employment and promotion, and the compensation must be such as to command the services of competent men and women. The employment of the inefficient is poor economy at any price. Good judgment must be used in the selection of teachers. There must be a system of promotion based upon merit, so that each one will have an incentive to do his best. And, finally, the unfit and unimprovable must be eliminated. At every point, success depends upon the adequacy of the knowledge and the soundness of the judgment of the employer. He must be expert in judging as to the value of the services of those whom he employs.

The authority to employ teachers for the public schools

is ordinarily vested in some sort of local district school board. This was the first plan used in the American public schools, and still continues to be the almost universal practice. And yet there have been a few variations, and there is now a good deal of discussion in educational circles as to the need of a reorganization of the whole system, if system it can be called.

While the city school board is of the same legal character as that of the rural districts, its actual character from an administrative point of view is very different on account of the large population of the district. The rural school board employs one teacher, or at most, a few teachers, while the city board employs scores or hundreds. Because of the size and complexity of a city school organization, the city school board ordinarily calls to its service an educational expert—a superintendent—one of whose duties it is to advise the board in regard to the employment of teachers. Indeed there is a strong tendency on the part of school boards to rely entirely upon the superintendent's judgment, giving him the power of nomination and then holding him responsible for results. Many cities are following this plan, and under capable superintendents, this is the best way yet devised. As superintendents are usually retained for a considerable number of years, it is possible to build up a system of employment and promotion based on merit according to the judgment of an educational expert who devotes his entire time to school supervision.

In the rural and village districts, on the other hand, the trustees continue, in a large measure, to employ teachers upon their own judgment, and frequently this is based upon no real knowledge of the candidate's ability, and upon little knowledge as to the special needs of the

school. In few cases do they visit the schools, and, even if they do, there are some important aspects of the teacher's work which, ordinarily, they are not qualified to judge.

Concerning the orderliness of a schoolroom and the attitude of teacher toward pupils and of pupils toward teacher, the ordinary layman can judge, but as to the selection of subject-matter, the accuracy of scholarship and the methods of instruction, his opinions have little value. Of course there are exceptions.

Hence, while our city schools are rapidly coming into a system of employment and promotion based upon merit according to the judgment of experts, the village and rural schools have made substantially no progress. Consequently, there is a growing demand that there be some system of employing teachers for the rural districts that will secure better results. The organization of the rural-school system with its great number of very small schools, each wholly or partly independent in its administration is believed to work against the efficiency of such schools. In some States the township district including either one or two central schools, or about nine separate schools under the control of one school board is favored. In others, steps leading toward the organization of all the rural schools in a county under one county school board is contemplated. This plan provides for the appointment by the county school board of all rural teachers and of a county superintendent of rural schools.

It is probable that a few States will by legislation adopt the county school board plan during the coming year. After the other States have tested the plan, we will be better able to judge as to its value and as to what features could with profit be introduced into Nevada's

school system. I wish, however, to express the opinion that so far as the abolition of the separate school boards of small rural districts, and the election of a county school board is concerned, the plan would be applicable in this State and would result in great gain in the efficiency of our schools, but that, on account of the smallness of the population of most of our counties, it is not advisable to create the office of county superintendent.

In the meantime, even though our system of employing and promoting teachers may remain unchanged legally, there is opportunity for many improvements in practice. In the first place, certain abuses should cease. The evil of employing or retaining teachers for any other reason than that of efficient service to the public is so evident that no argument is needed. And still there are many cases in which incompetent teachers are employed because of personal friendship, blood relationship, political influence, or financial considerations. Is not the school board that, for any of these reasons, deprives the child wholly or in part of his educational rights, guilty of a very bad sort of robbery?

It is not always true that the members of school boards sacrifice the interests of their schools when they employ relatives, but this is the case so often that such employment is to be viewed with suspicion. The man whose wife, or daughter, or sister, or other near relative is applying for a position is very apt to consider the interest of the applicant more than the interest of the school children.

It is important that teachers be promoted as they become more efficient. If a young teacher without previous experience is given a salary as large as that received by a teacher of demonstrated merit, and if the teacher whose experience has proved her to be weak is paid as

much as the best teacher receives, it is not encouraging to the better teachers. When the school over-pays the poor teacher and under-pays the good teacher—and it is sure to do this if all are paid alike—it encourages the poor to remain and the good to leave, and none to become better.

There are some practical difficulties in the way of a good system of promotion. There is no infallible way of determining the degree of merit among teachers. It must depend upon the judgment of someone, and anyone may err in judgment. Because of this fallibility of human judgment, promotion is frequently based upon length of service. This can be told accurately; there is no chance for favoritism. In a broad, general way, there is some relation between length of service and efficiency, especially if the less efficient are not re-employed. But in particular cases the teacher who has remained a long time is not the best. Length of experience sometimes means only incapacity for progress. The oldest teacher may be the deepest in the rut. Hence, promotion based merely on time of service is not just.

A better system is based upon both time and progressive efficiency. Under this plan, teachers are promoted for length of service, provided that they show capacity of a high order, and provided they strive to become more efficient through study and other appropriate means.

A method of promoting teachers, sometimes used in Nevada, should be criticized. Some school boards appear to think that in order to promote a teacher, it is necessary to give her a more advanced school grade, and, in harmony with this idea, they pay the upper-grade teachers more than those in the primary grades. This is unjust to the primary children as well as to good primary teachers.

There are instances in which a good primary teacher has been put into a grammar grade in order to raise her salary, only to discover that she was a poor grammar-grade teacher. A teacher who was doing excellent work in the grades was "promoted" into the high school in order to raise her salary, and in the high school she was far less efficient. Let all teachers work where they can render the best service, and promote them *in* those positions, not *out* of them.

A good system of promotion will furnish added incentives to every teacher to do his best.

Assuming that a school board is really desirous of securing the best possible teacher—and this is very often the case—there are certain practical difficulties in their way under the present system, the most serious of which are the board's inability to get into communication with desirable teachers, and the lack of reliable information relative to the character and ability of applicants. Under our present system, these difficulties can be overcome best through the assistance of the district superintendents. Devoting their entire time to school visitation and supervision, they are familiar with the needs of the various schools and they know the merit of the teachers. Moreover, it is to their personal interest to give the boards the benefit of a fair and impartial judgment when requested. In the one year since the creation of the office of district superintendent, the superintendents have been able to help many schools in securing teachers, and as their work becomes better organized, they will be in a position to render more effective service.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPENSATION OF TEACHERS

The question of compensation is important partly as a matter of justice to the best teachers, but chiefly because of its relation to efficiency. The State cannot secure and keep a sufficient number of competent teachers if the salaries are unreasonably low. This is based upon a simple economic principle. Men and women of ability tend to leave the poorly paid occupations and to enter those offering greater rewards. Of course, there are many things besides the money income which have something to do with one's choice of teaching as a profession. The work itself is enjoyable under favorable conditions to one who possesses natural aptitude for it. The social position of the teacher is pretty satisfactory in most communities. The opportunities for self-improvement are valued by many. The salary, however, remains a very important consideration with most teachers. It cannot be otherwise unless the rich shall enter the profession in large numbers to do the work for the love of it. The average teacher must depend on the salary for a living, and for those opportunities for travel and study that are necessary to professional growth.

When the salary falls below a reasonable standard, it results in a deterioration in the efficiency of teachers in several ways. There will be a considerable number of the best teachers who will leave the profession for something else that pays better. Others will remain in the profession, but will be forced into a penurious economy which

will interfere with the various means of self-improvement, such as attendance at institutes and summer schools, purchasing books, and subscribing for professional journals. Others, along with their teaching, will undertake some other work to help make a living, and to this extent divert their interest and energy from the school work. Many of the most capable young men and women who might become good teachers choose other work because teachers' salaries are so low. And, finally, because of a lack of a sufficient number of good teachers, large numbers of wholly or partly incompetent persons are employed in the public schools. These various results are somewhat slow in coming, but they are none the less certain.

True economy in public-school administration calls for a rate of compensation for teachers sufficiently high to secure a sufficient number of efficient teachers. More than this is unnecessary, and less is wasteful—wasteful of the pupils' time and their opportunity to secure an education.

There is an unconscious fallacy in quoting the monthly salaries of teachers. Ordinarily the teacher draws a salary for from six to ten months of the year, but he must live for the twelve months. In the following tables the average yearly salaries are given for all teaching positions in Nevada.

The average salary for each even-numbered year from 1896–1906 was secured as follows: first, the number of teaching positions for the year, as listed in the report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, was found by actual count; second, the total expenditure of all schools for teachers' salaries was found in the same report; third, by dividing the total amount used by all schools for the payment of teachers' salaries by the number of teaching

positions, the average for each position was found. At a few points, the data are not strictly accurate, due to the fact that one or two counties failed to report the expenditure for teachers' salaries separately. In such instances, the amount of teachers' salaries for such counties was estimated on the basis of the total expenditure and the relative amount spent for teachers' salaries during the preceding year. It is not probable that the average for the State is affected by more that two or three dollars by any possible error of this sort. So small an error will not affect the main conclusions to be drawn from the figures.

The even-numbered years alone are considered because the reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction are published but once in two years and the data for the odd-numbered years is not available.

Year	Number of Teaching Positions in Nevada	Total Expenditure for Teachers' Salaries in Nevada	Average Salary Paid for Each Teaching Position in Nevada
1896	266	$161,826	$612
1898	292	162,321	556
1900	303	158,040	522
1902	307	165,331	538
1904	319	187,944	589
1906	350	201,145	575

The marked decline from 1896 to 1900 is due largely to the increase in the number of small rural schools where smaller monthly salaries are paid and where school is in session for fewer months in a year. Similarly, the increase from 1900 to 1906 is due, not so much to any general increase, as to the development of several new mining towns where the very high cost of living necessitated high salaries. In other words, the fluctuations in the average

annual salary was caused more by the creation of new schools at both extremes more than by general changes.

There is a marked tendency for teachers' salaries to remain unchanged. When a district fixes a certain rate of compensation it just stays there by force of custom without much reference to changing conditions, until the change has become so great as to compel recognition.

The most important change in teachers' salaries during this ten-year period was not the reduction in the money income, but the decrease in its purchasing power on account of the continued increase in the price of commodities. Everyone is familiar with the general increase in the cost of living, and most people have had their incomes increased to correspond; but teachers have had to meet the increased cost of living with salaries, on the average, a little lower than they were ten years earlier.

Dun's Review, a reputable financial weekly journal of New York, has published a price index number for many years. This is computed on the basis of the prices of hundreds of commodities and the various commodities are weighted according to their importance in consumption. It shows the relative changes in general wholesale prices in New York fairly accurately, and it may be assumed that the retail prices follow pretty closely.

During the latter part of 1906 the writer made a study of Reno prices extending over the preceding ten years. Data were secured from old day-books, from merchants representing the various lines, and from private accounts. The results of this study warrant the conclusion that the cost of living in Reno has increased by at least as high a percentage as have the wholesale prices in New York.

The following table shows four things for the even-numbered years 1896–1906: first, Dun's index number;

second, the average annual salaries of all teaching positions in Nevada; third, the amount that teachers should have received, on the average, in order to maintain the real salaries—that is, the purchasing power—up to the 1896 level; fourth, the percentage by which actual salaries have fallen below this level.

Year	Dun's Index Number	Average Annual Nominal Salaries Paid for all Teaching Positions	Nominal Salaries That Would Have Maintained Real Salaries at the 1896 Level	Percentage Which Teachers' Real Salaries Have Fallen Below the 1896 Level
1896	77.7	$612	$612	
1898	79.9	556	629	11.6%
1900	95.2	522	750	30.4
1902	101.5	538	800	32.7
1904	102.0	589	804	26.8
1906	104.4	577	822	29.8

NOTE.—Economists distinguish between real and nominal incomes. The nominal income is measured in terms of money, while the real income is the amount of commodities which the income could procure.

In 1896 the grade teachers of the leading towns and cities received not far from $750 a year. Now, if a $750 salary had advanced so as to keep pace with the advance in cost of living, it would have been as follows during the succeeding even-numbered years:

Year	Salary
1896	$ 750
1898	774
1900	922
1902	984
1904	988
1906	1,012

On the other hand, such a salary remaining stationary in amount would in 1906 purchase less than three-quarters as much as it did in 1896.

Teachers' salaries, when considered in relation to the cost of living, have fallen about 30 per cent. below the 1896 level, and this lower rate has persisted for seven or eight years during Nevada's period of great prosperity. What are the results? The most noticeable result is the lack of teachers. The evidence of this is to be found in the increasing number of requests that come to the State Board of Education for temporary certificates. Such certificates are granted without examination and are valid until the next examination. In some cases highly competent teachers apply for and receive such certificates, but, in the great majority of instances, these certificates represent a low grade of efficiency. A further result has been a general lowering of the standards in administering teachers' examinations. It is highly probable that for several years an accurate marking of papers and a rigid adherence to the law would have resulted in the failure of three-fourths of the candidates for teachers' certificates. The lowering of the standard appeared to be necessary if there were to be enough teachers. Even this was not sufficient, for temporary certificates were issued in increasing numbers as follows:

Year	Number of Temporary Certificates Issued
1901	15
1902	16
1903	29
1904	36
1905	57
1906	64

A further result is found in the decreasing numbers who are making definite preparation for teaching. During the five years 1896–1900 there were 111 students gradu-

ated from the Normal School, while there were but 53 during the succeeding five years. There was in the same period a decrease in the number of graduates from the College of Arts and Science. This decrease is to be ascribed partly to other causes, but the decrease in teachers' salaries is certainly an important consideration.

For a long time the school population of Nevada was so small and the receipts from interest on the permanent school fund was so large relatively that the income from the State and county apportionments was sufficient—sometimes more than sufficient—to maintain the schools without any district taxes at all. As a consequence, the people appear almost to have forgotten that there is such a thing as a district school tax. Now, as the school population increased, the *per capita* apportionment from the interest fund decreased, thus making a district school tax necessary to the proper maintenance of schools. But most districts, failing to order such tax, have too little money, and so have not been in a position to increase the compensation of teachers.

It is highly desirable that attention be given to this matter of school finance. There should be a general increase in teachers' salaries. The standard salary of grade teachers in towns where the cost of living is relatively low should be increased in the very near future to at least $1,000 a year, while towns where the cost of living is higher should pay correspondingly. Goldfield is already paying $1,250 and the other prosperous mining camps should pay as much, or more, according to the cost of living.

Nevada is well able to pay salaries high enough to secure a high grade of efficiency in its schools. Its school taxes are very light compared with those paid in all of the

neighboring States. The people are prosperous, and, when they understand the situation, are willing to pay all that is necessary in order to have the best of schools. The fault is mainly one of negligence. School officers have been slow to see the relation of cost of living to teachers' salaries, and the custom of depending upon State and county apportionments was so firmly fixed that they have not realized their duty in relation to school taxes.

It should be clear that the primary purpose of higher compensation is higher efficiency, but no one should expect the full effect immediately. Just as the results of the decrease are slow to become apparent, so it will take time to realize the full value of an increase.

L Soc 4698.10
(Box on sh)

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA BULLETIN

VOL. IV JANUARY 1, 1910 No. 1

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME II, NUMBER 2
1910

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

NOTE.—The University of Nevada publications are offered in exchange for certain periodicals and for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities, and libraries. For sample copies address the University Library, Reno, Nevada.

Entered in the Post-Office at Reno, Nevada, as second-class matter, under Act of Congress, July 16, 1894

Anal

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME II, NUMBER 2
1910

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

Rec
1910

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
APR 4 1910
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The University of

The articles that appear in the University of Nevada Studies are contributed principally by the instructors in the University of Nevada, but contributions from other sources are not excluded.

JAMES EDWARD CHURCH, JR.,
CARL ALFRED JACOBSEN,
HERBERT WYNFORD HILL,
Committee on Publications.

NEVADA PRESS
RENO

CONTENTS

The College Curricula: A study of Required and Elective Courses in American Colleges and Universities

By George Ordahl

COLLEGE CURRICULA IN 1904-5

PART I.

The first part of this article was written under the direction of the Department of Education, University of Oregon, in 1905, and accepted as a Masters thesis by that institution in 1906. Part two is a comparative study of the data and results then obtained with similar data collected during the first part of the present academic year.

For several years the college curricula have been of supreme interest not only to educators but to the intelligent public. Since the summer of 1886 the words "prescribed" and "elective" have become familiar terms in the educational periodicals. It was in May of this year that the struggle going on between the conservatives and radicals of the Harvard faculty culminated in a victory for the latter.

This turn in favor of an elective system caused considerable alarm among the remaining colleges and universities of the United States. In New England the dismay is best understood when we read the paper addressed to the overseers of Harvard and signed by the presidents of leading institutions. The paper is a plea directed against the change in entrance conditions, and promotion to the Bachelors Degree. It was held that the proposed modifications would seriously affect the bearer of a degree, and further, would everywhere endanger the standing of American colleges. Outside of this immediate section of country, it was thought that the old label, A. B., applied to the degree of "comprehensive significance" would be an academic misrepresentation, because it would "no longer be evidence that its bearer

has been instructed in both Latin and Greek." (Bush, G. G. Hist. of Higher Educ. in Mass., p. 168).

Notwithstanding the opposition, the elective system has gained ground, and some of the institutions most earnest in the opposing plea, today, have an undergraduate course largely elective. Yet the struggle is by no means ended. The opposing sides of the controversy are maintained by zealous and able educators unflagging in behalf of their cause. On the other hand no unbiased effort seems to have been made to estimate the general trend of feeling or to give the state of public opinion on the matter.

The purpose of this paper has been to determine the present status of public opinion with regard to "required" and "elective work" in the undergraduate course, as far as it can be shown from a study of the curricula in representative institutions. Not all of the 476 colleges and universities have been treated in this study; but while the number included is but little more than one-sixth of the whole, it is believed that their significance is much more than that fraction would indicate; the State Universities are complete, and such other groups have been taken as would serve for a basis of comparison. These latter groups are representative of the remaining colleges and universities with the exceptions of the western and southern colleges; but from a cursory study it is believed they would not materially affect the conclusions drawn—if at all there would be a slight gain for the conservatives.

On basis of geographical importance and relation to community the 78 universities and colleges have been divided into groups as follows:

Southern State Universities

Alabama	Louisiana	Tennessee
Arkansas	Mississippi	Texas
Delaware	North Carolina	Virginia
Florida	South Carolina	West Virginia
Georgia		

Small Western State Universities

Arizona	New Mexico	Oregon
Colorado	North Dakota	South Dakota
Idaho	Oklahoma	Utah
Montana	Wyoming	Washington
Nevada		

Large Western State Universities

California	Kansas	Nebraska
Indiana	Michigan	Ohio
Iowa	Minnesota	Wisconsin
Illinois	Missouri	

Women's Colleges

Mills	Barnard	Wells
Mt. Holyoke	Rockford	Wellesley
Randolph Macon	Radcliff	Bryn Mawr
Smith	Vassar	Elmira
Baltimore		

New England Colleges

Amherst	Bowdoin	Dartmouth
Norwich	Bates	Brown
French	St. Anselm	Boston
Colby	Holy Cross	Tufts
Boston (Catholic)	Clark	Middleburry
Trinity	Weslyan	Williams

Large Private Endowed Universities

Chicago	Harvard	Princeton
Cornell	Leland Stanford	Yale
Columbia	Northwestern	Johns Hopkins

University of Pennsylvania

The difficulty of obtaining satisfactory data from sources so different in general makeup and so varied in method of detail as college and university catalogues is not slight. Others who have attempted to collate data from these sources criticise them both as to matter and to form. The American genius is painfully evident in the individuality of these catalogues; beneath the heterogeneity there are certain facts common to all, each has entrance conditions and requirements for degrees, but there is no common way of stating or indexing, and frequently the work listed under the head "required," is not all the work required, but certain conditions will be found elsewhere that in some way modify the list; further, there is no common unit by which the student's work is estimated. Owing to this difference in terms and systems it is hardly possible for the following tabulations to be absolutely correct, however every precaution has been exercised in avoiding error.

The work in the liberal arts course, with which this paper deals, has been classed as "required" and "elective." The elective work has been subdivided according to the terms, "major," "minor," "free elective" and "elective requirements." Required work as tabulated represents the least amount prescribed for any student in any of the liberal arts courses; for example, if in any institution the classical course should prescribe four years Latin, a literary course three years, and a scientific course prescribe but two years, the latter amount would be tabulated as representing the amount of Latin that is essential to a Baccalaureate degree.

The "major" represents a subject that must be chosen at will by the student and pursued for a certain period of time, representing from one to three years. The "minor" is of the same nature as the major, usually a subject bearing some relation to the "major" the less in

amount. "Free electives" represent that work which the student may choose without restriction. "Elective requirements"—this term has been coined to cover that work open to electives with certain limitations; Virginia is an example, having eight groups, of about four subjects more or less related, from each of which the student must choose one.

In some institutions attendance on one lecture per week for one semester is counted a credit; in others the term system prevails; in every case all systems have been reduced to the common measure—one hour per week for one college year, a credit.

The work of this study naturally divides itself into three main sections, that of the required work, the elective work, and the characteristics of the groups of institutions.

REQUIRED COURSES

In taking up the required work we will treat each subject in its relation to the whole 78 institutions, as well as to each separate group.

Eighteen of the 78 institutions studied prescribe Latin ranging in amount from one to three years—however the majority prescribe about three credits in this subject. The western state institutions, 24 in number, do not have a single Latin or Greek requirement, but the New England colleges have a representation of 9 out of 18. Eight institutions prescribe Greek, five of which belong to the New England group, two to the large private institutions, and one to the southern group; five require either Latin or Greek. Ten institutions require French, 11 German, 21 either French or German, 14 allow a choice of any language, ancient or modern; seven of the 14 are found in the western state universities. Thus out of the 78, 19 require Latin, 10 French or German, 14 allow choice

of any language, while eight consider Greek essential to a liberal education. The language requirement for each group of institutions, in terms of year-hours with the equivalent in terms of percentage of whole requirement, is as follows:

Average credit for Southern State Universities, 6, per cent of required work, 22.

Average credit for New England Colleges, 11, per cent of required work, 30.

Average credit for Women's Colleges, 6, per cent of required work, 23.

Average credit for small Western State Universities, 5, per cent of required work, 28.

Average credit for large Western State Universities, 3.2, per cent of required work, 29.

Average credit for large private endowed universities, 5.2, per cent of required work, 36.

Mathematics receives its heaviest representation in the southern state universities, followed closely by the New England colleges. Least emphasis is manifest in the large western universities. While the small western state universities have but one-tenth heavier requirements than that of the large private endowed universities. The following table shows the rank of each group, in prescribed mathematics, also the per cent of required work:

Average credits for Southern State Universities, 5.3, or 22 per cent of the whole required work.

Average credits for New England Colleges, 4.5, or 13 per cent of the whole required work.

Average credits for Women's Colleges, 3.0, or 12 per cent of the whole required work.

Average credits for small Western State Universities, 2.0, or 11 per cent of the whole required work.

Average credits for large private endowed universities, 1.9, or 13 per cent of the whole required work.

The requirements in mathematics begins in nearly every case with what is termed advanced, or College Algebra. One and a half credits, followed by an equal amount of time devoted to Geometry and Trigonometry. The following table shows the number of institutions that require a particular branch of mathematics:

39	prescribe	Algebra
39	"	Geometry
37	"	Trigonometry
14	"	Analytical Geometry
4	"	Calculus

Of those requiring the first three, Algebra, Trigonometry and Geometry, 15 are found in the New England colleges, three in the large private endowed universities, two in the large western universities, and one in the small western universities, five in the women's colleges, ten in the southern state universities. The social sciences are considerably scattered both as to subject and institution. They include History, Sociology, and Economics, and are represented as follows:

GROUPS OF INSTITUTIONS	Number of Institutions That Require Social Science	The Per Cent of the Required Work
Large private endowed universities	3	9
New England Colleges	9	7
Southern State Universities	5	6
Women's Colleges	8	8.5
Large Western State Universities	1	2.9
Small Western State Universities	5	5.2

Sixteen of these institutions require economics, ranging in amount from one and a half to three credits. History is variously distributed over the whole field, usually choice being allowed the student between ancient and modern. Twenty-eight require history in an amount ranging in quantity from one to six credits, with an average of 3.2 credits for each of the 28.

APR 4 1910

The University

The articles that appear in the University of Nevada Studies are contributed principally by the instructors in the University of Nevada, but contributions from other sources are not excluded.

JAMES EDWARD CHURCH, JR.,
CARL ALFRED JACOBSEN,
HERBERT WYNFORD HILL,
Committee on Publications.

NEVADA PRESS
RENO

Of the 72 institutions that require English, 35 prescribe Rhetoric, 29 composition and 28 literature.

To determine the relative amount of emphasis placed on theory of rhetoric, and composition, is in most cases not possible, as the description of courses in catalogues does not discriminate closely between the two but includes one in the other. However, from careful reading one would conclude that little emphasis is placed on the theory, for theme writing and composition are quite generally included with rhetoric. The manifest aim is to develop power of expression. A few institutions take up various periods of literature, but the general requirement under this head is the history of English literature beginning with its earliest development and continuing down to the present time.

One division of the required work remains to be considered, the miscellaneous subjects. Under this head have been included Astronomy, Elocution and Hygiene. The only reason for this division is that these three subjects occurred so rarely and with such faint emphasis that they might have been left out all together without affecting general conclusions. Elocution receives the heaviest number of credits, but amounts to less than one-fourth on an average for the 78 institutions. When five of these are distributed among the New England colleges, 4 1-2 to the women's, 3 1-2 to the Southern State universities, and 2 to Montana, we have 68 institutions remaining without the subject on their list of essentials. Astronomy receives 6 1-2 credits among the New England colleges and Southern universities, 5 credits in Hygiene in the same group.

ELECTIVE COURSES

Next turning our attention to the elective work we find the major subject emphasized in 20 institutions with an average of three credits each for the 78, or an average of 11 1-2 credits for the 20 that require the choice of a major. The following table shows the distribution of major and minor among the groups of institutions:

In the Small Western State Universities,

5 institutions require the major, 2 require a minor

In the Large Western State Universities,

4 institutions require the major, 2 require a minor

In the Large Private Endowed Universities,

3 institutions require the major, 3 require a minor

In the Women's Colleges,

3 institutions require the major, 3 require a minor

In the New England Colleges,

3 institutions require the major, 2 require a minor

In the Southern State Universities,

2 institutions require the major, 1 requires a miuor.

On the whole there seems to be no way for accounting for the major, but as we find fewer institutions in the conservative groups that support it and a relatively greater number among the more liberal institutions favor it, we may conclude that the major is an indirect effort to lead the undergraduate student to give shape to his college course. Since the minor is more heavily represented in the large Western State Universities, having an average of four credits for each institution as against an average of one credit for the remaining institutions, we may place it in the same consideration with the major.

Taking the "free electives" by groups we see the New England colleges to be the most conservative, allowing an average of ten credits open to the free choice of the student; the Southern State Universities follow with an average of 17. The Women's Colleges are quite uni-

form in freedom of electives, leaving about one-third of the curriculum free to the choice of the student. The large private endowed universities have no requirements beyond the sophomore year, leaving the latter half of the undergraduate course open to free election. The average free electives in the small Western State Universities amounts to 34 credits for each institution, while the large Western State Universities are somewhat more liberal, allowing the student free choice of 37 credits.

Closely related to the "free electives" we have what has been defined in this paper as "elective requirements." They are found throughout the whole study. In some institutions they have no special designation, in others they are termed variously as "group requirements" or "limited electives." "Group requirements" does not distinguish between "electives" and "group courses," nor does "limited electives" meet the occasion, signifying number of credits rather than subjects to which the election is to be restricted. The "elective requirements" will be found to be more characteristic of the large Western Universities than of the remaining institutions. It is true that the number of credits is not so great on the average for each institution of this group as it is in the New England Colleges and Southern State Universities; but the system is more uniform within the group, and includes subjects bearing a connected and logical relation to each other, while the required electives of the New England Colleges and the Southern State Universities is more of the nature of an option in prescribed work. What has been said of the large Western State Universities applies to the small Western State Universities though not in so marked a degree.

Closely following and relative to the above mentioned electives is the tendency to allow the undergraduate student to elect a certain amount of work from colleges out-

side the liberal arts course and apply the same toward earning an A. B. degree. The New England group has one college that allows the election of one year's work from civil engineering or medicine. In the Southern Colleges we find three institutions that allow one year to be elected from professional colleges. In the large private endowed group of universities there are seven institutions that allow the undergraduate student to choose one year from a professional college. Of the three that do not admit this choice Johns Hopkins allows but three years to the undergraduate course, and in Harvard it is possible for a bright student to complete the college course in three years, but Princeton holds out strongly for a full four years in the undergraduate course.

Five out of the 13 small Western State Universities allow some work to be done in either law or medicine. The large Western State Universities each allow one year to be devoted to a professional course, with the single exception, however, of Ohio, which has no law school in connection with the university.

Twenty-three of the whole number of institutions studied support "group courses." The most common among which are the classical course, the literary course, and the scientific course; with subdivisions of the latter; others are the commercial group, Pre-medical, civic historic, and the philosophical-educational group.

In the Southern State Universities,

7 of the 13 institutions support group courses

In the Small Western Universities,

6 of the 13 institutions support group courses

In the Large Western State Universities,

4 of the 11 institutions support group courses

In the Large Private Endowed Universities,

1 of the 10 institutions support group courses

In the New England Colleges,

5 of the 18 institutions support group courses

In the Women's Colleges,

None of the 13 institutions support group courses.

The Southern and Small Western groups of state universities have the common characteristic of adhering to the old classical course. These are usually followed by a Latin-scientific course. Some have a literary group; this latter seems to be characteristic of the Small Western State Universities. Of the Large Private Endowed Universities this feature is characteristic of Johns Hopkins, only; and here the courses seem to be laid out for the specialist, the primary object of each group being to offer consistent graduate work on one line. The courses are—Mathematical Physical, Chemical Biological, Historical Political, Latin Mathematical, Classical, Modern Language.

In passing to the Large Western State Universities, we find in the three representative ones a tendency to emphasize the useful. In the University of California, we find the "College of Letters," "Social Science," "Natural Science." The Social Science Group is calculated to make the student an efficient citizen. Even more conspicuous is this tendency in Wisconsin, where we find an A. B. course in Pharmacy, and in Commerce. Illinois presents the same utilitarian phaze in two courses, one in "Banking," another in "General Business," while Iowa endeavors to meet every and any possible need of the most general or special student.

With regard to liberalism versus conservatism there remains but one phase to be considered, that of granting degrees. Thirty-four institutions grant an A. B. degree only, for the undergraduate work; 44 grant both an A. B. and a B. S. degree, while a limited few of the latter grant the degree, B. L. or B. Ph. The question quite naturally presents itself, "does the granting of an A. B. for all

undergraduate work mean that there is an endeavor to make the college course uniform or is it a tendency to class students pursuing widely different lines of work during the collegiate course on an equal basis?" We find that the liberal institutions have a majority that grant but one degree, and the conservative groups of institutions have a slightly larger majority that grant both the A. B. and the B. S. degree, with a few that still grant the old degrees, B. L. or B. Ph. Since we have found no tendency on the part of the liberal institutions to restrict the undergraduate course to certain subjects or even to secure a uniform type of students, but on the other hand have found a disposition to meet the natural limit or individual tendency, and since we find the greatest conservatism among institutions favoring diversity of degrees, we may conclude that adherence to the old is an indication of conservatism, and that the granting of an A. B. only for all undergraduate courses is a marked and definite tendency toward equality.

One thing more may reasonably be looked for from a study of the college curricula—the relation between secondary and higher education. Where is the line of cleavage, where does the one begin and the other end? The amount of work to be done is practically determined by college entrance requirements and the 60 credits demanded for the degree. Reasoning from the data compiled, it would seem that we may conclude higher education begins with the Junior year of the high school and ends with the close of the Sophomore year of the college. To substantiate this conclusion we have but to note that the first two years of college language conform to the language of the high schools, while much of the mathematics would bear out the same analysis. If it were desirable the same relation might be shown with regard to the exact and social sciences. Practically all institutions give direc-

tion to the student during the Freshman year, but generally all requirements end with the second college year. Two institutions, Chicago and the University of California, recognize a distinct break in the undergraduate course at this period, and the Junior year considered the beginning of more advanced and specialized work. It is possible for a student of language to get four years of Latin and two years both of German and French in the high school and to pursue them through the first two years of college, leaving him to enter on more advanced work at the beginning of his Junior year in college. Likewise a student of the social sciences might begin his advanced work in the high school, take beginning languages in college (excepting Latin), and enter on more characteristic advanced work during the last two years of his college course.

The following table may be of interest as showing the number of institutions in each group that prescribe physical culture or require the undergraduate student to write a thesis:

Of the Women's Colleges,
11 prescribe physical culture, 2 require a thesis
Of the New England Colleges,
10 prescribe physical culture, 2 require a thesis
Of the Large Western State Universities,
9 prescribe physical culture, 1 requires a thesis
Of the Small Western State Universities,
8 prescribe physical culture, 6 require a thesis
Of the Southern State Universities,
5 prescribe physical culture, 4 require a thesis
Of the Large Private Endowed Universities,
1 prescribes physical culture, 1 requires a thesis.

The thesis does not seem to be identified with either the liberal or the conservative institutions; in a few cases credit is allowed for it, but usually no credit is given. In

regard to method of instruction, or facilities for physical education a complete study has not been made. The time varies from a short period each day to two or three hours per week; probably if an average were struck it would amount to about two hours per week for one year. In a few institutions credit is allowed, but in such case the whole required work is about the normal of 60 credits.

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

In passing to the study of colleges and universities by sections we take up the groups in the order in which they prescribe the greatest amount of work for the undergraduate student.

The New England College curricula present the greatest degree of variety, and a very great diversity in catalogue structure. Including the three colleges that require the whole curriculum, and that amounting to 86 and 95 credits, the average requirements for each college amounts to about 34 credits, or 53 per cent of the four years' course. Omitting these colleges, Boston, St. Anselm, and Holy Cross, we have an average of 27 credits, or 44 per cent of the whole work for graduation. Seven of these colleges require about one year's work; Bowdoin is the most liberal, demanding but 11 credits. The average number of credits for each institution is distributed among the subjects as follows: Foreign language 11, English language 5, Mathematics 8, Exact Sciences 4, Social Science 2, Philosophical Science 4.

As characteristic of this group we may note first the strong emphasis on the classics. The stress on English, Mathematics, and Exact Science is about the same within the group. In the miscellaneous subjects Elocution receives some preference. The Philosophical Sciences are comparatively strong, while the Social Sciences are weak.

We shall not find another group of colleges, in this study, with so large a general average of required work.

With prescribed credits amounting to 14 per cent more than that of the Women's Colleges, and 15 per cent more than the most conservative of the State Universities, one naturally asks, why this great difference? In an old country already well populated, those of the growing generation who do not find room and scope for their activities pass out to other parts, leaving behind a people with a greater degree of homogeneity, and conservatism. In so far as colleges reflect the opinion of their locality they too must be conservative. The early aims of these institutions were cultural, in which religion was no small factor, and the classics was not only the backbone but largely the framework of the curricula. When the elective system was inaugurated in America the classics, in so far as tradition becomes authoritative, were the recognized standards by which education and culture were tested. The conflict of critical judgment with tradition is a slow process that results in a union of the new with the old; but an ultimate and final overthrow of the old is rarely if ever effected. And in this we should not expect the New England Colleges to be an exception, but rather in proportion to the antiquity of their traditions would conservatism prevail over any radical change that might threaten the dignity of the old college curricula.

In looking into the characteristics of each group we find the Southern State Universities the most conservative of the state groups. The average number of credits required for each institution is 23 1-2, a little more than one year, and about 38 per cent of the whole amount of work required for a degree. We may note here also a tendency to adhere to the old curriculum—language, and mathematics. Delaware is the extreme of conservatism, requiring two and one-half years' work or 48 credits out of 80; Virginia, the extreme liberal, has no specific requirements and only 50 credits required for graduation, but 35 fall

under the "elective requirements." The strongest point of resemblance between the institutions of this group is the uniform emphasis placed on foreign language and a steady consensus as to the relative importance of English language, mathematics, and the exact sciences.

The average required credits in the Southern Universities range as follows: Foreign Language 6, English Language 5 2-3, Exact Sciences 4, Mathematics 5, Social Science 1, Philosophical Sciences 9-13. In language and exact science there is a close resemblance to the Women's Colleges, but like the remaining groups the philosophical and social sciences are lightly represented. In amount of work prescribed this group stands 1 per cent lower than the Women's Colleges and 13 per cent higher than the Small Western Universities.

The question that comes up is not so much what is the significance of the curricula, as why this conservatism of the South? There can be no doubt that the foregoing data shows an advance toward elasticity; but why not as liberal as the institutions of the West? It will be seen that the more liberal institutions are in a prosperous locality and well supported financially. The war of 1861-65 reduced the South very much in financial power and left its political institutions in an unstable condition.

In regaining its energies it is not likely that the spirit of the South was in a mood to indulge the whims or extravagances of youth. But rather would public opinion support what was considered essential and forego any indulgence at the expense of discretion. Nor would we expect liberalism of the institution to go ahead of the prosperity of the State, but rather would look for it to fall behind. It would hardly be fair to suppose that the spirit of higher education depended wholly on public opinion and statesmanship; nor would it be just to presume that there were not in the southland fair and broad-minded educators. But

ambition cannot expand in a contracted atmosphere, nor would many remain to strike against impossible conditions. We may then fairly presume that the conservatism of the south is due to the inevitable causes, lack of political and financial support, which resulted in repelling rather than attracting great educators to its fields.

The Women's Colleges stand quite distinctly apart by themselves. The requirements are more extended and more evenly distributed, though not very heavy in any one subject. Radcliff, like Harvard, represents the extreme of liberalism, nothing being required, while Mills is the extreme of conservatism, requiring 33 1-2 credits or 52 per cent of its whole undergraduate course. While Elmira takes the middle ground with one year of prescribed work. The average required work for each college is 23 credits, and 39 per cent of the whole work required for a degree. This prescribed work is distributed among the subjects as follows: Foreign Language 5 credits, English Language 4 1-2 credits, Mathematics 3 credits, Exact Sciences 4 credits, Social Sciences 2 credits, Philosophical Sciences 3 credits. Mathematics receives less attention than any, except the Small Western Universities. The Philosophical Sciences are required in all but three colleges, the Social Sciences are but a trifle weaker than in the New England Colleges, while the English Language is about the same as in both the New England Colleges, and in the Southern State Universities. Bible is required in eight out of 13 of the colleges, and outside of the New England Group are the only colleges that require it at all.

The uniformity found within this group of colleges is more significant when we note the agreement not only of subject emphasized, but in quantity required. The difference from, or likeness to, other colleges will be accounted for not by locality or means of support, but rather in the answers to the questions what to consider is essential edu-

cation for women, and what was the aim of the founders of these institutions? The answers to these questions we will find in a study of the curriculum itself, and in the nature of its subjects. It is evident that emphasis is placed on empirical work. Language is formal and predominantly definite; exact science is the work of the empiricist drawing conclusions from physical experiment. The social sciences may be treated variously, but in a course comprising less than one year philosophic treatment could not be reached. Mathematics, small in amount, could not be other than a drill in accuracy and exact thinking. In the case of philosophical sciences there would appear to be a break in method of treatment, and there may be, but a short course in ethics and psychology, while abstract, could hardly be other than elementary and positive, dealing with dogmatic principles, and consequently clear and comprehensive.

The Large Private Endowed Universities divide into three groups: Three, Harvard, Stanford and Cornell, have the free elective system; Chicago, Yale and Northwesterns each have a requirement of about one-fourth of the college course; the remaining four require two years, or one-half of the undergraduate course. Distributing the whole requirement we find that 14 1-2 credits, or about 24 per cent of the whole college course, falls to each university. Chicago makes a distinct break in the undergraduate course by considering the first two years as preparatory to more specialized university work in the last two. This diversion is not wholly recognized by the other universities yet the last two years are open to free electives, and all but Johns Hopkins and Harvard allow the student to choose one year's work from a professional college.

In this group of universities the elective work is represented by 76 per cent of the college course; the remaining 24 per cent is distributed among the required subjects

with an average for each university as follows: Foreign Language 5 credits, English Language 3 credits, Mathematics 2 credits, Exact Sciences 2 credits, Social Sciences 1.2 credits, Philosophical Science 1.2 credits. Leaving out those that have the entire free elective system, we find that there is a uniform agreement as to the subject emphasized, the chief difference within the group being the amount required. There is to be made one exception, Yale requires no science; Johns Hopkins requires no Mathematics, but the entrance requirements include Analytical Geometry.

The cause for the general elasticity shown in this group of universities is no doubt complex and beyond a thorough treatment in the scope of this paper. Yet there seems to be two potent causes without which a liberal attiture could not well be assumed. We are, in large endowments, enabling them to equip and man every department to a high degree of efficiency. The other cause is found in their geographical situation. In each case we find the location of the most liberal to be in a section of country relatively progressive.

The Small Western State Universities, the conservative, are more liberal than any of the institutions yet discussed with the exception of the above private universities. When the elective work is taken out we have on an average for each university 17 credits, or 27 per cent of the undergraduate course, to be distributed among the following required subjects: Foreign Language 5, English Language 5 1-2, Mathematics 2, Exact Science 3, Social Science 1, Philosophical Sciences 8-13. The most liberal representative of this group is Utah, with a single requirement in English of 3 credits; Oregon is the extreme of conservatism, with 27 1-2 credits prescribed, about one and a half years' work at that university. Wyoming, Montana and North Dakota have slight requirements in the Social

and Philosophical Sciences. Aside from these exceptions we find a marked uniformity both in subject matter and amount prescribed. English Language is emphasized by all, then follows in order Foreign Language, Exact Science and Mathematics. In comparison with institutions that would seem farthest removed from them the Small Western State Universities present a similarity rather apparent than real. We find the prescribed work in Foreign Language and Mathematics to be the same as that of the Large Private Endowed Universities; Exact Sciences one credit more, Social and Philosophical Sciences, trifling in both cases, but somewhat less.

The apparent correspondence grows less when we consider the wide difference within the latter group—three entirely elective and three requiring about half of the work. In contrast to this, we have ten of the Small Western State Universities presenting a solid front of at least one year of required work.

In accounting for the conservatism of this group we find two causes uppermost—lack of funds and sparseness of population. The financial support is not such as would admit of a large faculty, nor will lack of social intercourse allow of modern ideas being agitated and wrought into an aggressive public opinion. Not to allow too much to outside influence and too little to the faculty itself, it can easily be seen how, in a small institution one man, or at least a few of the small faculty, might dominate the organization and give to the curriculum characteristics not the result of deliberate opinion but of a narrow individual view.

The Large Western State Universities conform most closely to a set type and in general permit the greatest amount of election. The prescribed work amounts to ten credits out of the 60, or 16 2-3 per cent of the whole work required for graduation. The ten credits are distributed

among the required subjects as follows: Foreign Language 3, English Language 3, Mathematics 1 6-11, Exact Science 1 7-11, Social Science 3-11, Philosophical Science 3-11.

Missouri has a free elective system, while Ohio represents the extreme of conservatism with a requirement of 30 credits or 50 per cent of the entire undergraduate work. A further division may be noted within the group: Four, Iowa, Indiana, Ohio and California, require modern languages and exact science; five, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota and Nebraska, require English language, only. The one thing that makes this group typical is the system of "elective requirements." All but three, Ohio, Iowa and Indiana, conform to the plan, and the latter of these approaches it in requiring the student to choose a major subject, amounting to 15 credits, and pursue it through two consecutive years. In the remaining eight an average of 15 credits fall under the "elective requirements." It may be urged that this system offsets the apparent elasticity of the group; but a careful study would hardly warrant such a conclusion. We will find that the nature of grouping carries with it little absolute restriction. It would not be worth while to go into a full exposition of the system as found in each of the eight universities, but one that is typical and one that conforms least to the type will suffice. Michigan is an instance of the latter. It has the following open to Freshmen: Language, Greek, French, German, Mathematics, Trigonometry, Algebra, Analytical Geometry, History (European); 12 credits must be chosen from these groups, but special permission may be obtained to elect others. A typical example is that of Missouri. The undergraduate student must choose from a list of subjects, usually included in the liberal arts course, four, in each of which he must earn six credits.

The general aim and purpose of the "elective requirement" would seem to be not restriction to some special subject, but rather to secure breadth and yet preserve continuity.

While in this group we note a relatively great amount of freedom it is not in favor of the "laissez faire" proposition, but rather is it a recognition of the individual differences in the college students and a respect for any such tendency. There is no attempt to turn out a definite type of student, and yet there is a recognition of a need for an early shaping toward a definite end. The right of the individual to begin this shaping process earlier in life is recognized by all of these institutions, except Ohio, in the privilege to choose one year of the undergraduate course from a professional school.

The reason for the Large Western Universities being able to work out these characteristics can not be wholly accounted for in a brief space, but surrounding conditions have been favorable, without which their general differences would not have developed. The people had come from different parts of the east, and from Europe. They were in search not of a place in which to establish ancient customs, but were ready to sweep from their minds anything that savored of the old, and to indulge in what was a plausible promise of success. If the old welled up for recognition there were new ideas incident of new surroundings to inhibit, and themselves clamor for realization. The country had resources sufficient to admit of progress, and we find these western universities a unique product of modern civilization.

THE COLLEGE CURRICULA IN 1909-10

PART II.

The foregoing section was written five years ago. A second study for 1909-10 has just been completed. One half decade is scarcely more than an hour in the evolution of educational thought, and a much shorter time in the history of educational institutions. Yet, in this brief period, which has elapsed between the two studies developments have occurred and changes taken place, as can be seen from a study of appendix B, which has been compiled from the official records of colleges and universities.

The Woman's Colleges and the Southern State Universities show little change from the tables of 1905. The New England colleges have on the whole, so far as records could be obtained, reduced the requirements a few hours or have remained the same. One only, Boston University, shows an increase of 3 hrs. in the prescribed work.

The small Western State Universities show a reduction in the 3 per cent in whole number of required credits, and also a change from 65 to 60 in the number of hours required for graduation. Five of the institutions within this group have made considerable change in the number of absolute prescriptions. Of these five only one has raised requirements.

The University of Washington has raised the prescribed work 12 year hours.

The University of Colorado has lowered the prescribed work 10 year hours.

The University of Montana has lowered the prescribed work 14 year hours.

The University of Wyoming has lowered the prescribed work 18 year hours.

The University of Oregon has lowered the prescribed work 20 1-2 year hours.

The percentage of required credits in the large Western State Universities has dropped 4 per cent and the average number of hours prescribed has changed from 10 to 7. Two universities of this group have raised the requirements. Wisconsin shows a change in prescription from 3 hrs. to 9 hrs. But two others of this group have lowered the requirements. Indiana has changed from 25 hours required to 15 hours required. Ohio, which, 5 years ago was the most conservative of the group, has modified its whole system and changed the number of required hours from 30 to 10.

The requirements of the large private universities have dropped 5 per cent, and the average number of hours has been reduced from 14 1-2 to 10. Princeton, the most conservative of this group, has changed from 30 hours required work to 16 hours. This is not a gain for free electives, however, but is perhaps a necessary change due to the tutorial system introduced into that institution in 1906. The most notable change in this group is that of the University of Chicago, from 15 hours to 2 1-3 hours in English, which is a change from a requirement in five different subjects to one. This further goes to show that no one subject is considered absolutely necessary to all students alike.

The plan of requiring certain groups of subjects arbitrarily arranged has given way to a more rational system. The old group courses, classical, Latin, Latin-scientific, Latin-mathematical, etc., have practically disappeared from college registers. Only 10 institutions, and these are found among the southern and New England colleges, retain the old 4 year group course system. A system of elective requirements has taken its place.

The academic subjects have changed likewise in point of emphasis. One subject, practically new, has come in, viz: hygiene. A few institutions require all students to

attend a short course of lectures in personal hygiene. Boston University requires the student to attend lectures on "College Life and Work." This course, seemingly, is calculated to orient the student into the new life as well as give desirable instruction in more personal and hygienic matters—a perspective of his personal relation to society as a whole. Indiana requires a one-hour course in general and personal hygiene, part of which is given separately for women. The State University of Iowa requires attendance upon a course of lectures given by different professors, on personal, moral and mental hygiene.

Three subjects present noteworthy changes. Of the large state universities only one requires mathematics. The number of institutions which formerly required mathematics has fallen from 55 to 49. Aside from the University of Georgia no state institution has a specific requirement in ancient language. Of the large private universities, Princeton is the only institution from which a student could not secure a bachelor's degree without College Latin. A new phrase has come into use in college and universities, viz.: "A language other than English". A requirement in "a language other than English," of from 3 to 6 hours is the general requirement, and 66 of the 78 institutions have a language requirement. The theory generally advanced in favor of a language requirement is that the student will need the language in reading scientific literature. It is questionable, however, if the majority of students ever use their extra language either in or out of college. However this may be the choice of the majority of students, who are obliged to choose, is away from the ancient language and toward the modern. The choices in Yale University for Greek have fallen 33

1-3 per cent in the last 6 years, while choices in favor of German have advanced 20 per cent in the same period of years.

English is the one other subject which is generally prescribed and which reveals some development. Harvard University offers a course (Eng. A) which students deficient in English Composition are required to take, but no college credit is given for work done in this course. The University of Kansas offers a course in rhetoric required of "Freshmen not offering it as a fourth year of entrance English." These indications go to show the college requirement has been made to make up for deficient instruction in the secondary schools. Not because a fifth year of English is a necessity for all students. Where data can be obtained, however, indications are that the majority of students elect one or more courses in English after entering college.

The elective work of the different colleges and universities is gradually taking on the characteristics of a system. Elections are allowed with restrictions, but restrictions are more rational and less dogmatic. This is shown in the system of majors, minors, and required electives. Forty-two as against 20 for 1905 of the 78 institutions have a system of majors, or majors and minors. The average for each of the 42 is 16 hours. A few colleges require a major as low as 9 hours or 3 years, others as high as 25 hours for both major and minor. This is a considerable advance over the major requirements of 1905, which averaged only 3 hours for the 78 institutions. Where there is a small major requirement or none at all it will be noticed there are elective requirements. In most cases both majors and elective requirements are parts of the same elective system.

The average number of free electives for each of the 78 institutions is 19 hours; of required electives 12 hours.

These, together with the average number of major and minor hours make an average for the elective system of 30 hours for each of the 78 colleges and universities.

The plan of dividing the old four-year college course into Junior and Senior colleges is receiving some attention though there is little to show that the plan has as yet developed into a definite system. The two institutions mentioned in the first section of this paper are the chief representatives of the division at the end of the Sophomore year.

Closely parallel to the division into Junior and Senior colleges is the growing practice of allowing the Liberal Arts student to elect a certain number of hours, one or two years from a professional college and to apply the same toward earning a Bachelor's degree. Thirty-two institutions permit the above combination which is an increase of six over the number for 1905. Practically every institution allows the choice of one year from a professional course if such course is found in the college or university.

In this same connection it is worthy of note that the president's report of Harvard University for 1908 emphasizes the fact that 3 years, and not four years, is becoming the normal time for securing a college degree.

Together with the acceptance on the part of the Liberal Arts College of one or two years from a technical or professional college in lieu of the last 2 years of the Liberal Arts course, comes the demand from the technical and professional colleges that the first two years of their courses be made identical with the first two years of the Liberal Arts college. The following, quoted from the president's report of Cornell University for 1909-10—p. p. XXXVI-XXXVIII, is typical:

"In the president's report for 1906-07 (p. p. 57-58), the suggestion was made to the engineering colleges of 'a

fifth year of study in the engineering courses, the additional time to be spent wholly on humanistic studies, while the student, during the first two years of the five-year course, was also pursuing his work in pure science.' * * * During the winter definite proposals were received from Sibley College and from the College of Civil Engineering, embodying the president's suggestion, and in April a co-operative agreement was reached. Henceforward a five-year course will be offered leading to the degree of Civil Engineer, and a similar course leading to the degree of Mechanical Engineer. A student may begin either course upon satisfying the entrance requirements of this college (Liberal Arts) in which he will be in residence for his first two years. Passing then to Sibley College or to the College of Civil Engineering he will receive his technical degree upon the completion of his fifth year in the university. * * * One purpose of requiring that the first two years of a student's residence be in the College of Arts and Sciences and subject to its rules is that he may spend the additional time * * wholly on humanistic studies. * * * The amount of outside work is furthermore so small (at most 10 hours in two years) that in addition to it a capable student may well complete, by the end of his second year, the sixty-hours of Arts work, including six hours in each of the four stipulated underclass groups which will entitle him, if he wishes to continue as a Junior in the College of Arts and Sciences. * * * The five-year course will thus allow the student two years of university experience before he is finally called upon to decide whether his purpose in life will be better served by pursuing an engineering course to the end, or by following instead either some other vocational course, or a general course. * * *

And, finally, the establishment of this five-year course has a wider significance. It may be looked upon as a step

toward the ideal of the Special Committee on Aim and Scope of the Association of American Universities 'that the best American universities will in the future rest their professional courses on a basis of college work which will range from one to four years and that the professional student will spend at least five or six years in study from the day he matriculates in college to the day he receives his professional degree.' "

The problem seems to be a complicated one of three parts, viz: (1) Require the student to spend three years in securing an A. B. before entering a technical or professional school. (2) Divide the old four-year course in the middle and allow the last two years (the Senior college) to be special; or (3) Retain this Junior and Senior college division but allow the Junior college to be a preparation for the special or technical and professional work of the Senior college.

When the first section of this paper was being written the various academic subjects were in the crucible of the elective system. Today the crucible has yielded us back a product, in the form of a judgment: "None of these subjects are of specific value to each and every student alike." The writer believes this to be the scientific interpretation of the facts compiled in appendix A. and B., or from a careful study of the best educational thoughts of today. Five years ago the elective system was feared as dangerous. In 1910 we know its absence is more dangerous than its presence.

The Elective System has ceased to be a question. It has become a "problem". A problem which commands the respect of the ablest intellects—an educational problem demanding solution.

The evil which has accompanied the introduction of electives has been due, in the writer's opinion, to disregard of "system". The Elective System is first a system and

second elective. In too many cases the students are confronted with a chaos of subjects presenting no relations or natural connections, and is expected to organize for himself a systematic line of work, which, owing to the nature of things, would be impossible, for the reason that no such organization is inherent in the courses offered. The most educators themselves had done was to group certain available courses, but the grouping was arbitrary and represented an omnibus affair which directed the student to no particular purpose.

President Cyrus Northrup, of the University of Minnesota, replied to an inquiry sent out by the World's Work, in 1908, as follows: "The tendency in educational work most deserving of encouragement is * * * the correction of the abuses of the elective system in colleges." It is noteworthy that none of these replies recommend more required work.

The problem is not the correction of abuses, but rather the organization of courses into *fields* or colleges. The criteria of division should be social and professional needs. The relation of any subject to any organized field of education should be its fundamental relation to that social need, or profession.

Two such divisions have been made within the last decade, viz: The School of Commerce and Business and School of Education. The former was first introduced in the University of Chicago. It has met the needs so well that it has become known as the men's course. The School of Education is already a part of every progressive university. The School of Religion and Social Science is another college division made in response to social demands and the old Divinity courses have been modified accordingly. The College of Letters is likewise a comparatively new departure from the old arts course, and has been established out of consideration for the student of modern

literature. These diversions, not to name others, bear clear relations to each other and to different departments.

The chief difficulty in organizing these *fields* of education is found in what has been termed "departmental vice," i. e., departments are looked upon as wholes whereas they are only parts. Lack of co-operation between departments makes impossible any effective organization into colleges, letters, business or education. And in this absence of co-operation the elective system is seriously impeded, not from any defect in the system, but from lack of fundamental organization due to "departmental vice," —the inability of the college instructor to see his subject in its relation to the whole college course.

The relations of departments to a college is simple but fundamental. Should the College of Business need a peculiar form of geography it is the function of the Department of Geology or Geography to meet that need. Should the same college require a course in the fundamental psychological basis of advertising it rests with the Department of Psychology to provide such a course. When education as a process becomes conscious of its ultimate aim, and departments realize their function to be incidental to the whole educative system, the bulk of "elective chaos" should disappear because of the disappearance of dogmatic and arbitrary linking of subjects into unnatural groups.

There are some indications that departments are already conscious of the false position assumed. In a few instances catering to the needs of other departments is almost a specialty.

On the other hand some subjects have become extremely isolated and unsuited to, not only high schools, but undergraduates in college. Physics has become so technical as to render itself unintelligible to secondary students. (See Educ. Rec., Sep. 1909, p. p. 150-160). The demand for General History, General Science Courses, also

General Mathematics is a recognization of the fact that specialization has been acutely narrow. Entrance requirements to college have been too much the authoratative requirements from associations representing single subjects, (School Rev., May, 1909, p. 329.) and as a result too technical. The educational call now is: Reorganization from the standpoint of the student, which call embodies scientific consideration of individual differences and social needs.

The principles behind all of which are the fundamental principles of the elective system. The student who wishes to work to a purpose, and for a vocation can do so. Students wishing to scatter and loaf, will be drawn into line, or automatically dropped from an environment to which they are constitutionally not adaptable. A procedure which would relieve society of the "sophisticated not educated."

A comparative study of the foregoing tables reveals the following facts:

1. A majority of institutions give the B. A. and B. S. degree only for undergraduate work.

2. The old group courses have given place to elective grouping.

3. All groups of colleges and universities are tending toward a more liberal policy of education.

4. Sixty year hours, or 120 semester hours is the almost universal requirement for graduation.

5. The old 4 year college course is breaking up, leaving the last 2 years for specialization in technical or professional schools.

6. Professional and technical schools are tending toward more elastic courses, and are demanding a more liberal preparation.

7. Personal and mental hygiene has received considerable emphasis as a college subject within the past 5 years.

8. No one subject is essential to a liberal education.

9. The Elective System has gained much ground in all sections of the United States.

Official announcement of the proposed changes in the Harvard curricula came to hand too late to be included in the body of this article. According to The Harvard Bulletin (Feb. 2, 1910), the modified curricula stands about as follows: The whole body of undergraduate subjects of instruction is classified into four fields, viz., Arts of Expression, including literature, language, fine arts and music; Natural Science; Social Sciences; Abstract or deductive lines of thot, including Mathematics and Philosophy. The student is required to elect six courses in some one of these fields, and six courses distributed among three fields. He may take two courses in each of three or one course in one, two courses in another, and three courses in a third field. There are then four courses remaining which may be elected as the student chooses. One course in English is required.

It is worthy of note that the committee recommending the above curricula have found that earnest students do actually make their elections according to some such plan. Pres. Lowell states: "Our primary object was not compulsion, but was to set a standard, to let the undergraduate understand what we believed was the true object to be aimed at in a college education." Pres. Lowell remarks further that a student may deviate from this plan provided he can show the committee good cause for so doing.

	Physical Culture	Thesis	1905 No. Prescribed Credits	1910 No. Prescribed Credits	ELECTIVES Major	Minor	Free Electives	† Elective Requirements	No. Electives From ‡Other Colleges	§No. Degrees Given	No. Group Courses	Total Credits For Degree
LAW												
1	4½	----	16½	12	----	----	29½	12	⅔	3	3	60
2	----	----	25	15	15	----	20	----	1	2	----	60
3	----	----	3	7	12	----	42	20	1	2	----	65
4	----	----	17	15	----	----	38	----	1	1	----	60
5	----	----	3	5	----	----	30	28	----	1	----	60
6	----	----	3	3	----	----	45	12	1	1	----	60
7	----	----	3	9	----	----	30	18	½	1	----	64
8	----	----	----	2½	12	----	36	24	1	1	----	60
9	----	----	1	2	----	----	45	11	⅔	2	----	60
10	----	----	30	19	----	----	24	----	----	3	3	60
11	----	----	3	11	10	----	30	10	1	2	3	60
	Totals		104	100	50	----	----	----	----	----	----	609
%	Average		9	9	5	4	37	10	----	----	----	60
	Whole		17%	15%								
SM												
12	r	r	4	4	----	----	16½	24	----	2	2	64
13	----	----	20	10½	10	----	35	----	½	1	----	65
14	r	r	16	20	12	8	12	12	----	2	6	66
15	----	r	22	8	6	----	32	10	----	2	4	64
16	r	r	22	23	----	----	20	20	----	2	2	62
17	----	----	20	21½	15	5	40	----	----	2	5	60
18	r	----	24	15	----	----	40	----	1	2	----	64
19	r	r	12	18	10	----	40	----	2	2	6	62½
20	r	r	27½	7	----	----	20	27	----	2	5	70
21	----	----	15	21	----	----	18	----	½	1	----	60
22	r	r	3	17	----	----	57	----	----	1	----	61
23	----	----	18	30	----	----	42	----	2	2	----	60
24	r	----	21	3	----	----	59	----	c	2	3	80
	Totals		224	183	53	13	----	----	----	----	----	----
%	Average		17	14	4	1	34	9				65
	Whole		26%	23%								
25	----	r	22	26	----	----	14	21	----	2	3	62
26	r	----	15	12	24	----	45	----	----	2	2	60
27	r	----	48	48	----	----	6	----	----	2	3	80
28	r	r	35	27	----	----	16	----	----	3	3	66
29	----	----	43	30	----	----	----	25	----	1	6	66
30	----	----	24	30	----	----	----	----	----	1	3	62
31	r	r	22	2⅔	----	----	16	26	----	2	----	62
32	r	r	13	18	----	----	30	14	----	1	3	60
33	----	----	38	24	----	----	16	----	----	2	2	70
34	r	r	29	12	----	----	----	36	----	2	----	65
35	----	----	10	18	----	----	30	30	1	1	----	60
36	----	----	----	9	----	----	15	35	1	1	----	50
37	----	----	18½	18	15	8	51	----	2	2	----	70
	Total		314	214	39	8	----	----				433
%	Average		23	22	3	½	17	14				64
	Whole		37%	35%								

	Physical Culture	Thesis	1905 No. Prescribed Credits	1910 No. Prescribed Credits	ELECTIVES Major	Minor	Free Electives	† Elective Requirements	No. Electives From ‡ Other Colleges	§No. Degrees Given	No. Group Courses	Total Credits For Degree
LAR												
1	4½	----	16½	12	----	----	29½	12	⅔	3	3	60
2	----	----	25	15	15	----	20	----	1	2	----	60
3	----	----	3	7	12	----	42	20	1	2	----	65
4	----	----	17	15	----	----	38	----	1	1	----	60
5	----	----	3	5	----	----	30	28	----	1	----	60
6	----	----	3	3	----	----	45	12	1	1	----	60
7	----	----	3	9	----	----	30	18	⅓	1	----	64
8	----	----	----	2½	12	----	36	24	1	1	----	60
9	----	----	1	2	----	----	45	11	⅔	2	----	60
10	----	----	30	19	----	----	24	----	----	3	3	60
11	----	----	3	11	10	----	30	10	1	2	3	60
	Totals		104	100	50	----	----	----	----	----	----	609
%	Average		9	9	5	4	37	10	----	----	----	60
	Whole		17%	15%								
SMA												
12	r	r	4	4	----	----	16⅓	24	----	2	2	64
13	----	----	20	10½	10	----	35	----	⅓	1	----	65
14	r	r	16	20	12	8	12	12	----	2	6	66
15	----	r	22	8	6	----	32	10	----	2	4	64
16	r	r	22	23	----	----	20	20	----	2	2	62
17	----	----	20	21½	15	5	40	----	----	2	5	60
18	r	----	24	15	----	----	40	----	1	2	----	64
19	r	r	12	18	10	----	40	----	2	2	6	62½
20	r	r	27½	7	----	----	20	27	----	2	5	70
21	----	----	15	21	----	----	18	----	½	1	----	60
22	r	r	3	17	----	----	57	----	----	1	----	61
23	----	----	18	30	----	----	42	----	2	2	----	60
24	r	----	21	3	----	----	59	----	c	2	3	80
	Totals		224	183	53	13	----	----	----	----	----	----
%	Average		17	14	4	1	34	9				65
	Whole		26%	23%								
25	----	r	22	26	----	----	14	21	----	2	3	62
26	r	----	15	12	24	----	45	----	----	2	2	60
27	r	----	48	48	----	----	6	----	----	2	3	80
28	r	r	35	27	----	----	16	----	----	3	3	66
29	----	----	43	30	----	----	----	25	----	1	6	66
30	----	----	24	30	----	----	----	----	----	1	3	62
31	r	r	22	2⅔	----	----	16	26	----	2	----	62
32	r	r	13	18	----	----	30	14	----	1	3	60
33	----	----	38	24	----	----	16	----	----	2	2	70
34	r	r	29	12	----	----	----	36	----	2	----	65
35	----	----	10	18	----	----	30	30	1	1	----	60
36	----	----	----	9	----	----	15	35	1	1	----	50
37	----	----	18½	18	15	8	51	----	2	2	----	70
	Total		314	214	39	8	----	----				433
%	Average		23	22	3	½	17	14				64
	Whole		37%	35%								

	Physical Culture	Thesis	1905 No. Prescribed Credits	1910 No. Prescribed Credits	ELECTIVES Major	Minor	Free Electives	Elective Requirements	No. Electives From Other Colleges	No. Degrees Given	No. Group Courses	Total Credits For Degree
L DC												
38	r	----	15	3½	12	9	----	26	1	3	----	60
39	----	----	25½	17	----	----	34½	----	1	1	----	60
40	----	----	----	3	----	----	60	----	1	1	----	60
41	----	----	----	----	----	----	60	----	----	2	----	60
42	----	----	27	24	----	----	2	----	----	1	4	45
43	----	----	----	----	10	10	40	----	----	1	----	60
44	----	----	10½	9	10	5	33	1½	1	2	----	60
45	----	----	30	16	----	----	30	----	----	2	----	60
46	----	----	22	22	----	----	20	18	1	2	----	60
47	----	----	15	9	----	----	30	15	½	2	----	60
	Totals		145	104	32	24	----	----	----	----	----	----
%	Average		14½	10	3	1	30	6	----	----	----	58½
	Whole		20%	16⅔%								
48	----	----	15	15	----	----	----	45	----	2	----	60
49	r	----	31	15	----	----	----	29	----	1	----	60
50	----	r	15	18	----	----	35	----	----	2	----	60
51	----	----	86	86	----	----	----	----	----	1	----	86
52	r	----	11	8	----	----	35	16	----	1	----	60
53	r	----	35	22	----	----	----	25	----	2	----	60
54	----	----	20	20	----	----	----	40	----	1	----	60
55	r	----	22	20	----	----	----	35	----	2	----	60
56	----	----	16	16	9	6	----	46	----	1	----	61
57	----	----	26	26	----	----	----	----	----	1	2	60
58	----	4	86	86		----	----	----	----	1	----	86
59	----	----	32	32	----	----	28	----	----	2	2	60
60	7	----	56	56	----	----	----	----	----	1	----	60
61	3	----	95	95	----	----	----	----	----	1	----	95
62	r	----	24	24	----	----	27	----	----	2	----	60
63	----	----	28	21	9	9	18	----	----	2	----	64
64	----	----	18	8	----	----	----	----	----	3	2	60
65	----	----	12	9	7½	----	21	18	----	1	----	60
	Totals		629	575	25	15	----	----	----	----	----	----
%	Average		34	32	1	5-6	10	14	----	----	----	65
	Whole		53	50								
66												
67	r	----	22	39	----	----	39	----	----	1	----	60
68	----	----	27	21	----	----	33	----	----	1	----	60
69	r	----	25	25	10	10	10	25	----	1	----	60
70	r	----	15	15	----	----	10	35	----	2	----	60
71	r	----	33½	24½	----	----	11	12	----	2	2	64
72	r	----	28½	31½	----	----	----	----	----	1	----	56
73	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	----	60
74	r	----	39	33	----	----	9	12	----	1	----	60
75	r	----	19	24	12	----	41	----	----	2	----	60
76	r	r	21	20	----	----	39	----	----	1	----	60
77	r	----	21	21	----	----	39	----	----	1	----	60
78	----	----	31	22	12	9	29	----	----	1	----	60
	r	----	24	26	----	----	26	----	----	1	----	60
	Totals		23	301	34	19	----	----	----	----	----	780
%	Average		23	23	3	1	21	7	----	----	----	60
	Whole		39%	39%								

or the group.

	Culture	Thesis	1910 No. Prescribed Credits	1905 No. Prescribed Credits	ELECTIVES Major	Minor	Free Electives	† Elective Requirements	No. Electives From ‡Other Colleges	§No. Degrees Given	No. Group Courses	Total Credits For Degree
LA												
1		----	12	16½	18	----	33	3	2	3	----	62
2		----	13	25	15	----	20	12	2	1	----	60
3		----	7	3	12	----	----	20	†c	1	----	60
4	½	----	15	17	12	----	21	12	2	1	----	60
5	--	----	----	3	15	----	30	15	2	1	----	60
6		----	3	3	----	----	45	12	2	1	----	60
7		----	9	3	9	24	21	----	2	1	----	63
8		----	2½	----	12	6	39½	----	c	1	----	60
9		----	2	1	12	----	30½	13	2	1	----	60½
10		----	10	30	12	----	29	9	1	1	----	60
11		r	5	3	10	----	----	14	2	1	----	60
	To	tals	78	104	127	30	270	90	----	----	----	665
%	a	ge	7	9	11	3	24	8	----	----	----	60
	W	hole	11%	16%								
SM												
12	½	r	4	4	----	----	----	30	----	2	----	65½
13		----	10½	20	25	----	24½	----	2	1	----	60
14		----	20	16	12	8	12	12	2	2	----	65
15		----	8	22	15	----	29	9	----	2	----	60
16		r	23	22	20	----	10	----	----	2	2	60
17		r	21½	20	12	----	26½	----	----	1	----	60
18	--	----	15	24	----	----	25	20	2	1	----	60
19		r	18	12	15	----	15½	11½	----	1	----	60
20		r	7	27½	10	----	43	----	----	2	----	60
21		----	21	15	12	----	11	18	----	1	----	62
22	--	r	3	3	12	12	23	----	2	2	----	60
23		----	30	18	12	8	10	----	½	1	----	60
24	--	----	3	21	15	10	5	----	----	2	----	60
	To	tals	183	224	160	38	244	100	----	----	----	792
%	ver	age	14	17	12	3	19	6	----	----	----	60
	ho	le	23%	26%								
25		----	26	22	----	----	34	----	----	2	----	70
26		----	12	15	----	----	40	2	c	2	----	64
27		----	48	48	----	----	6	----	----	2	----	80
28		----	27	35	----	----	43	----	----	2	----	70
29		----	30	43	----	----	15	18	----	1	----	66
30	--	----	30	24	----	----	20	16	----	1	----	68
31	--	----	20¾	22	6	----	16	26	----	2	----	62
32	--	----	18	13	----	----	----	42	----	1	----	60
33	--	----	24	38	----	12	----	24	----	2	----	60
34	--	----	12	29	----	----	----	68	----	2	----	80
35		----	18	10	----	----	30	----	----	1	----	48
36	--	----	9	----	----	----	----	39	----	2	----	39
37	--	r	18	18	15	15	----	----	1	2	----	70
	To	tal	294	314	21	27	204	229	----	----	----	837
%	ver	age	22	23	2	2	15	17	----	----	----	64
	ho	le	37%	38%								

INS	Culture	Thesis	1910 No. Prescribed Credits	1905 No. Prescribed Credits	ELECTIVES Major	Minor	Free Electives	Elective Requirements	No. Electives From Other Colleges	No. Degrees Given	No. Group Courses	Total Credits For Degree
LARGE DOWED												
38 Chic												
39 Colu	----		3½	15	----	----	26¾	30	2	3	----	60
40 Corn	----		17	25½	----	----	30	13	2	2	----	60
41 Har	----		----	----	10	----	50	----	1	2	----	60
42 Joht	----		----	----	----	----	----	----	----	2	----	60
43 Lela	----		24	27	9	6	21	----	----	2	----	60
44 Nort	----		----	----	20	----	40	----	1	1	----	60
45 Prin	----		9	10½	----	----	----	----	2	2	----	60
46 Univ	----		16	30	----	----	----	44	----	3	----	60
47 Yale	----		22	22	9	9	----	20	1	2	----	60
Tot	----		9	15	12	18	6	15	2	1	----	60
% of Pro	tals		100	145	51	33	243	112	----	----	----	600
	r age		10	14½	5	3	24	11	----	----	----	60
NEW CO	le		16⅔ %	20%								
48 Amh												
49 Bate	----		15	15	----	----	9	36	----	2	----	60
50 Bost	----		15	31	15	20	10	----	----	2	----	60
51 Bost	----		18	15	8	8	26	----	2	3	----	60
52 Bowe	----		86	86	----	----	----	----	----	1	----	86
53 Brow	----		8	11	6	4	28	----	1	2	----	60
54 Clark	----		22	35	----	----	38	----	----	3	----	60
55 Colby	----		20	20	----	----	40	----	----	2	----	54
56 †Darf	----		20	22	----	----	40	----	----	2	----	60
57 †Fren	----		16	16	9	6	----	46	1	1	3	61
58 †Holy	----		26	26	----	----	34	----	2	1	2	60
59 †Midd	4		84	86	----	----	2	----	----	2	----	86
60 †Norv	----		32	32	----	----	28	----	----	2	2	60
61 †St. A	----		56	56	----	----	----	----	----	1	----	60
62 †Trinl	----		95	95	----	----	----	----	----	1	----	95
63 Tufts	----		24	24	----	----	27	----	----	2	----	60
64 Wesle	----		21	28	9	9	15	6	----	1	----	60
65 Willia	----		8	18½	9	----	13	30	----	2	----	60
Tota	----		9	12	7½	----	----	45	----	2	----	62
% of Req	tals		575	629	63	47	292	163	----	----	----	1164
	age		32	34	3	2	16	9	----	----	----	64
WOMEN'	le		50%	53%								
66 Baltim												
67 Barna	----		39	22	----	----	39	----	----	1	----	60
68 Bryn	----		21	27	----	----	21	----	----	2	----	60
69 Elmyr	----		25	25	----	----	20	15	----	1	----	60
70 Mills	----		15	15	----	----	----	45	----	2	----	60
71 Mt. H	----		24	23	7½	----	22	6	----	2	----	61
72 Radcli	----		31	23	15	----	13	----	----	1	----	60
73 Rando	----		----	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	----	60
74 Rockfe	----		33	39	----	----	----	27	----	1	----	60
75 Smith	----		24	19	12	----	23	----	----	2	----	59
76 Vassar	----		20	21	9	----	27	----	----	1	----	56
77 Welles	----		21	21	----	----	39	----	----	1	----	60
78 Wells	----		22	31	12	6	18	----	----	1	----	58
Total	----		26	24	18	13	----	----	----	1	----	57
% of Req	tals		301	306	73	19	222	93	----	----	----	771
	age		23	23	6	1	17	7	----	----	----	59
	le		39%	39%								

† Ta

he group.

L Soc 4698.10

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA BULLETIN

VOL. IV OCTOBER 1, 1910 No. 4

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME II, NUMBER 3
1910

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

NOTE.—The University of Nevada publications are offered in exchange for certain periodicals and for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities, and libraries. For sample copies address the University Library, Reno, Nevada.

Entered in the Post-Office at Reno, Nevada, as second-class matter, under Act of Congress, July 16, 1894

University of Nevada Studies

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

Volume II, Number 3
1910

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

DEC 10 1919
The University

The articles that appear in the University of Nevada Studies are contributed principally by the instructors in the University of Nevada, but contributions from other sources are not excluded.

JAMES EDWARD CHURCH, JR.,
CARL ALFRED JACOBSEN,
HERBERT WYNFORD HILL,
Committee on Publications

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

CONTENTS

La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama
By Herbert Wynford Hill

PREFACE

The present study of the influence of La Calprenède's romances, *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra*, on the late seventeenth-century drama is the second of a series concerned with the influence of types of novels on the plays of the period. The first of the series presented the influence of the pastoral romances. On tracing this influence it was found that in the second half of the century new currents of influence were setting in; and that while the older influences persisted to a greater or less extent and in some cases lent themselves with modification to the new spirit, they were no longer in control. Chief among the new forces was the French heroic romance, a type having its beginning in D'Urfé's *Astrea* (1607–19), maturing in Gomberville's *Polexander* (1629–37), and flowering luxuriantly in the romances of La Calprenède and Mlle Scudéry.[1] And this was the type selected for the present investigation. As the study proceeded the necessity of setting some limitations became imperative, and La Calprenède was chosen as the representative of the heroic school. Later it was found advisable still further to limit the study to *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra*. It is hoped that the range is sufficiently broad to indicate the main lines of influence. To Dr. Frederic Ives Carpenter, who drew my

[1] The principal French romances included in this group are, in addition to those already named: François de Molière's *Polixène* (1623), a pastoral heroic romance; Gombauld's *Endymion* (1624), an allegorical heroic romance; Jean-Pierre Camus' *Iphigenes* (1625), a pastoral heroic romance; Jean Desmaretz, sieur de Saint-Sorlin's *Ariane* (1632), a historical heroic romance; Pierre d'Ortigue, sieur de Vaumorière's *Le Grand Scipion* (1656-62). La Calprenède's romances were *Cassandre* (1642-50); *Cléopâtre* (1647-58); and *Faramond* (1661-70). Mademoiselle de Scudéry's romances were *Ibrahim* (1641); *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus* (1649-53); *La Clélie* (1654-60); and *Almahide* (1660-63).

attention to this line of research, I am indebted for many helpful suggestions. Professor John Matthews Manly I wish to thank for encouragement and kindly criticism. To Dr. Myra Reynolds and the Seminar of 1907 in the heroic play I owe many contributions to the second part of this study. From the librarians of Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, and Chicago Universities I have received numerous courtesies.

LA CALPRENÈDE'S ROMANCES AND THE RESTORATION DRAMA

By Herbert Wynford Hill

PART I: THE ROMANCES

THE PLOT OF *Cassandra*

The main plot.[1]—Oroondates[2] the young prince of Scythia, while serving in his father's army against Darius, king of Persia, bursts into one of the tents of the enemy, and sees the divine Statira, the daughter of the king. Although forced to depart on the instant, he is captivated by this glimpse of the most perfect workmanship of the gods. During the remainder of the campaign he is haunted by the beautiful vision; and as soon as the armies withdraw to their

[1] The plot analyses throughout will not be exhaustive but, it is hoped, sufficiently complete to guide the reader to an understanding of La Calprenède's method of plot structure. The plots on which plays are based will be presented more in detail when the plays are discussed. For further synopses the reader may consult *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (October, 1700, and November, 1780); and Koerting, *Geschichte des französischen Romans im 17. Jahrhundert*, Vol. I, pp. 247-81.

[2] The antecedent action of the *Cassandra* is introduced in the form of "histories" told by Araxes, squire to Oroondates, by Cleone, and by Toxaris. See pp. 5-33, 41-113, 242-55, 253-70. The page references here and elsewhere, unless otherwise specified, are to Cotterell's translation of *Cassandra*, ed. of 1676. The title-page reads as follows:

"Cassandra The Fam'd Romance. The Whole Work: In Five Parts. Written Originally in French, and Now Elegantly Rendred into English By Sir Charles Cotterell, Master of the Ceremonies to His late Majesty of Blessed memory, and to our present Soveraign Charles II. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, etc. London Printed for Peter Parker, at the Leg and Star over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1676."

One of the best discussions of La Calprenède's romances and of the other French romances of the seventeenth century is that of Professor Thomas Frederick Crane in the introduction to his excellent edition of Boileau's *Les héros de roman*. Other accounts are those of Koerting mentioned above, Morillot's *Le roman en France depuis 1610 jusqu' à nos jours*, Le Breton's *Le roman au dix-septième siècle*, and Charlanne's *Influence française en Angleterre au XVIIe siècle*, chap. vi.

winter quarters, being unable longer to endure the torments of his passion, he goes in disguise to the Persian camp. Here by his prowess and magnanimity he wins the lasting friendship of Artaxerxes, Statira's brother. With this beginning he rapidly advances in Statira's esteem and affections; at the proper moment his high rank is discovered, and he learns with rapture that Statira returns his love. Through the trickery of Roxana, who is herself in love with Oroondates, Statira is led to believe that he is false and she marries Alexander, who has meanwhile captured her father's kingdom. After Oroondates has recovered from the shock of the announcement of this marriage, he sets out for Babylon with the intention of killing Alexander; on the way he learns that Alexander is dead. He hears also that Roxana, who is now in control of affairs in Babylon, has put to death Statira. It appears later, however, that this last information was false. Perdiccas, to whom the task of beheading Statira is assigned, himself being in love with her, executes in her place a slave. He furthermore takes her to a place of safety, the house of Polemon, on the banks of the Euphrates, not far from the walls of Babylon.

It is at this point that the romance opens.[1] In the pleasing shade of leafy trees not more than two or three hundred paces distant from the house of Polemon, our hero is introduced. Hardly has he tasted the first sweetness of slumber, when he is disturbed by the noise of neighboring conflict. Rushing to the scene of combat he intuitively joins the weaker side. One of the contestants flees, leaving Oroondates to continue the combat with the other. While thus engaged these two are set upon by a dozen followers of the fugitive;

[1] Interspersed in the main story are frequent "histories" which serve to bring the various threads of the plot up to date. These rather seriously break the continuity of the narration, as the following page references, marking the progress of the main plot, will indicate: pp. 1-4; 34-40; 114-208; 256-86; 307-28; 339-45; 363-64, etc.

joining forces they drive off this band. When all is quiet once more, there is an exchange of compliments, and Oroondates discovers his companion to be Lysimachus. He further discovers that the knight whom he helped escape is no other than Perdiccas. As a final blow he is told by Lysimachus of the reported death of Statira, and throwing himself on his sword, falls weltering in a river of blood. Fortunately his wound is not fatal and he is borne to the house of Polemon, where he rapidly recovers. Statira is carried back to Babylon by Perdiccas. Oroondates, with the assistance of his friends, finally wins the city, and the hand of Statira.

THE TWO DUPLICATING PLOTS

The Lysimachus-Parisatis plot.[1]—Lysimachus, serving under Alexander during the invasion of the Persian empire, meets Parisatis, who with her sister Statira is taken captive after the defeat of Darius. He falls in love with this princess and renders her some signal services. Alexander, in whose hands lies the disposition of Parisatis, supports Lysimachus' rival, Hephestion. Lysimachus repeatedly attempts to fight with his rival, and for this is condemned to be eaten by a lion. Lysimachus succeeds in killing the lion, but even this exhibition of prowess does not avail. Hephestion marries Parisatis, but dies soon after. Lysimachus hears that Parisatis has been killed, together with Statira. He joins Oroondates in the capture of Babylon and thus gains Parisatis.

The Artaxerxes-Berenice plot.[2]—Artaxerxes, son of Darius, is severely wounded during an engagement with the Scythian forces; he is left for dead on the battlefield. He is rescued

[1] The story up to the point where Lysimachus joins Oroondates is told by Lysimachus, pp. 119-56.

[2] The story is mingled in a puzzling way with the main action. To further complicate matters, the solution is held in suspense until the close.

and brought back to health by a noble enemy. In due time he meets Berenice, the daughter of the Scythian king, and falls in love with her. Encouraged by the recollection of Oroondates' success in a similar situation he urges a successful suit. Hardly has he enjoyed the first raptures of a requited passion when he is summoned home by the news of Alexander's invasion of his father's kingdom. On his way thither he is captured by pirates. Escaping, he has the good fortune to save the life of the king of Scythia. His joy in this act is short lived, however, for the ungrateful king, discovering the identity of his rescuer, throws him into prison. Arsacomes, an unscrupulous suitor, abducts Berenice. Berenice escapes and is recaptured several times; finally she is rescued by Oroondates, and turned over to Artaxerxes, who has in the meantime been released.

THE REMAINING PLOTS

The Orontes-Thalestris plot.—Supposedly killed in the fall of a bridge, Orontes, stimulated by the picture of a beautiful girl, sets out to find her. Disguised as a woman he goes to the land of the Amazons, where he finds in Thalestris, their queen, the object of his search. He wins her friendship but dares not reveal his passion. One day as Orontes, tortured by his love for the fair Amazon, lies in an arbor sobbing out his secret, he is overheard by Thalestris and banished. Thalestris hears that Orontes is dead, and, grief-stricken, bursts into a declaration of her love for him within his hearing. He discovers himself to her and for a brief space they rejoice in each other's love. Orontes soon goes away on a defensive expedition and while absent is deceived into believing Thalestris false to him. He deserts her and she very naturally is furious. They meet in battle before the walls of Babylon. Orontes persistently refuses to engage against

Thalestris and repeatedly saves her life. Finally they are reconciled.

The Barsina plot.—Barsina, a Persian lady of noble rank, is beloved by Memnon, one of the first noblemen of the kingdom, and also by Oxyartes, brother to the king. At first friendly toward each other, the two suitors gradually drift into strained relations. Memnon refuses to fight with Oxyartes because Oxyartes is the king's brother, and accordingly leaves the country, resigning his claim to Barsina. Oxyartes refuses to accept this sacrifice; and Memnon, returning, marries Barsina. Memnon shortly after his marriage is killed in battle, and Barsina marries Oxyartes.

The Theander-Alcione plot.—The happy marriage relations of Theander and Alcione are broken up by the malicious plottings of Bagistanes, a rich uncle of Theander's, ably assisted by Astiages, Theander's brother. Both Theander and Alcione stab themselves. Alcione recovers.

The Hermione plot.—In love with Alexander, whom she has never seen, Hermione kills her wicked husband Spitamenes and goes to Alexander's camp. Repulsed by Alexander, she dons armor and enters battle. Before the walls of Babylon she receives a mortal wound from the hands of Demetrius. The susceptible Demetrius falls in love with her.

The Deidamia plot.—Deidamia loses her lover in battle and sees her father's kingdom ruined by rebellion. Obeying an oracle she comes to the camp of Oroondates. Here she is persistently wooed by Demetrius and finally yields to his suit.

The plot structure.—Although because of the introduction of numerous "histories" the romance seems to cover a long period of time, in reality it extends only a trifle beyond six weeks. The first two days, largely concerned with Oroondates' "history," are complete in Part One; the third day

carries us to Part Two, Book Three; the fourth day, to Part Three; the fifth day, to Part Three, Book Three. We are now informed that about a week after he was wounded Oroondates recovers. Five days after his recovery Araxes goes to Babylon, returning four days later. This brings us to about the sixteenth day. Two days later the first battle was fought; about a week after the first, the second. The siege begins two days after the second battle and continues a little over a week before Oroondates is captured. Nearly another week elapses before he is rescued. This makes a total of about six weeks.

Strangely enough, when one considers the length of the romance, the author with almost Chaucerian insistency informs the reader that he intends to hurry on; that the length of various narrations or discourses prevents him from recounting them; that he has no time to describe this place or that battle or ceremony. The inconsistency between this avowed intention and the performance grew out of his desire to round the story to completion by telling the histories of all his important characters. Sometimes this interferes sadly with the movement of the main action. Thus just before the capture of Oroondates, which is one of the climaxes of the story, we find introduced the history of Barsina, an account which has little or no bearing on the main plot and which seriously clogs the machinery. Nevertheless, read leisurely with frequent reference to the preceding threads of plot, the romance shapes itself definitely into a fairly well-organized story.

In the handling of the sub-plots, La Calprenède followed a plan which he developed more fully in his later romances. In the preceding plot analyses, two of the plots have been classified as duplicating plots. To even a casual reader one of the most noticeable features of the *Cassandra* is the frequent

duplication of situations and incidents. A somewhat closer examination reveals that this duplication is chiefly confined to the three plots which we have classified respectively as the main plot and the two duplicating plots. Furthermore, the situation or incident duplicated invariably appears in the main plot although not always in both of the sub-plots and generally before its appearance in either of the two sub-plots. In other words it seems that the purpose of the repetition is to emphasize the incidents and situations in question. This method of strengthening the main plot is common enough in the drama—witness the Gloucester plot in *King Lear*—and not unknown in romance. That La Calprenède employed the method deliberately seems evident enough. Oroondates, for instance, interrupts Lysimachus in the midst of the relation of his adventures with the following words:[1]

Ah, *Lysimachus!* What a resemblance our misfortunes have to one another.

In similar vein Artaxerxes says:[2]

Was not *Statira Darius's* daughter, and was not *Oroondates* the King of *Scythia's* son? Hast thou not a heart as well as he? And canst not thou attempt that for his Sister, which he so courageously hazarded for thine? Thou without doubt hast fecilities in thy design, which he found not in his; his Example may encourage thee, his proceeding may instruct thee, and his assistance may make thee the most fortunate above all men living.

Even though we had no such statements as these of the plan of the author the nature of the resemblance itself offers sufficient evidence. Let us compare the Lysimachus-Parisatis plot with the main plot. In each the hero is in love with a mistress who has married a rival. In each the rival husband is killed and the heroine is subjected to a mock execution which is thought to be real by the hero. In each the

[1] P. 136. [2] P. 367.

heroine is discovered to be alive and is finally joined to the hero by the capture of Babylon.

The other supporting plot, the Artaxerxes-Berenice story, duplicates the main plot even more closely. The two heroes are in love each with the other's sister. They are fast friends. To phrase it a little more fully, each is in love with the daughter of a hostile king and each goes in disguise to the court of his mistress. Each through heroic exploits wins favor, and scorns all reward save the hand of the princess. Each saves the life of the king. Each heroine is lost to the hero through revolution; each is captured by the hero, released, and later captured by the unscrupulous rival. From this point on, the events which bring together the hero and heroine resemble each other less closely. One repeated incident, however, is worthy of citation. Each hero, in turn, not recognizing the other, mistakes demonstrations with the respective princesses of brotherly affection for the accepted advances of a rival lover; and a combat ensues.

Duplication of certain features of the main plot is to be found outside of the two supporting plots, but it is of a different nature. The principal complicating incident of the Orontes-Thalestris plot, for instance, is like an incident in the main plot. The heroine is deceived through a letter into the belief that the hero is false. And, to take another example, just as Oroondates comes upon Statira asleep in a beautiful spot, so Thalestris comes upon Orontes, not once but twice. Neither the incident nor the situation, however, is of the kind to warrant any claims of deliberate imitation. Both are conventional, appearing time and again in the *Cassandra* and in La Calprenède's other romances.

The Deidamia and the Hermione stories have little bearing on the main plot. They are loosely related to each other, through Demetrius, who falls in love with each lady in turn.

Hermione, it will be remembered, touches the main plot through her relations with Alexander.

The stories of Barsina and Alcione are introduced principally because their homes are the meeting-places for the main characters; the one in the antecedent action, the other in the direct narration. The antecedent action, however, is not very well centered geographically; it does not focus strongly on any one point. The direct action, on the other hand, is in the neighborhood of Babylon, and within the city itself. The house of Polemon, the father of Alcione, is the first gathering-point. Here come nearly all the characters of prominence to entertain each other with their histories while waiting for the forces to mobilize for the attack on Babylon.

In Babylon after its capture the heroes receive their long-deferred rewards. At this point the author takes reluctant leave of his gallant heroes and fair heroines, not, however, without a fleeting glance at their future.

> The Design [he says] to which I regularly enough have tied my self not to wander from the Banks of the *Euphrates*, and the Walls of *Babylon*, hinders me from following my Heroes in their Voyages: I will not therefore relate their fortunate successes; their arrivals in their kingdoms; and the crowning of so many Gallant Princes, who established a brave and happy Sovereignty, which they enjoyed through the whole course of very long and prosperous Reigns. You may learn the end of their lives from Historians Famous in Antiquity, who have written them.

THE PLOT OF *Cleopatra*

The main plot.[1]—Coriolanus, captured when an infant and deprived of his parents and kingdom, is brought by Augustus Caesar to Rome, where he is reared as a Roman

[1] The account of the life and death of Queen Cleopatra and of the birth of her daughter, Cleopatra, the heroine of the romance, is told to Tyridates by a servant (pp. 36-48). Emilius, squire to Coriolanus, recounts his master's

prince. He gets a glimpse of the princess Cleopatra, led a slave in the triumphal procession celebrating the fall of Alexandria, and falls in love. Two other princes, Marcellus and Tiberius, also lose their hearts to this most remarkable ornament of her sex. Marcellus, out of friendship to Coriolanus, withdraws his suit; but Tiberius, through malicious plottings, drives Coriolanus from Rome, and even succeeds in convincing Cleopatra that Coriolanus is false to her. Thus when Coriolanus returns in disguise to see Cleopatra he is spurned by her. He leaves Rome, and finally, weary and sick at heart, reaches a point near Alexandria. Cleopatra, voyaging to Alexandria, is cast ashore by a tempest.

It is at this point that the romance opens. Coriolanus, lying down to rest, is aroused by a great noise of clashing arms. Rushing upon the scene he takes the side of the weaker combatant and assists him to escape. While Coriolanus is continuing the fight, the fugitive returns with a dozen or so followers and sets upon Coriolanus' opponent. Coriolanus turns his sword against the new arrivals and helps his late opponent drive them off. He now discovers that the knight to whom he has last rendered assistance is no other than the famous Caesario and that the band they have just driven off is that of the notorious pirate, Zenodorus.[1]

adventures to Tyridates (pp. 78-161). Five hundred pages farther on (pp. 100-14 of the second division of the folio), Cleopatra, in the relation of her history to Artemissa, brings the story up to the point where the romance opens. The page references here and elsewhere are to Loveday's translation. The title-page of this edition reads as follows:

"Hymen's Praeludia or Loves Master-piece. Being that so much admired Romance, Intituled Cleopatra. In Twelve Parts. Written Originally in the French, and now Elegantly rendered into English. By Robert Loveday. Evand.

"Qui magis aptaret Cleopatra Parentibus orta.

"Conspicuis, Comiti quam placuisse Thori?

"London, Printed, by W. R. and J. R. and are to be sold by Peter Parker, at his Shop at the Leg and Star over against the Royal Exchange, and Thomas Guy, at the Corner-shop of the Little Lumbard-street and Cornhill, 1674."

[1] This is a favorite way of introducing a hero. The reader will recall that in this way *Cassandra* opens.

A few days after this adventure, Coriolanus strolls into a solitary grove which strongly reminds him of the spot on the banks of the Tiber where he formerly enjoyed the favor of the fair Cleopatra. Exhausted by grief, he falls asleep along the luxuriant bank of a murmuring brook with his head at the foot of an old oak. Here he is discovered by Cleopatra and Artemissa. Cleopatra wakens him and reproaches him with infidelity. While he is attempting to clear himself a band of villains dash in upon them and carry off the two princesses in spite of Coriolanus' prodigious efforts to prevent it. After various other adventures the hero, in search of death, leaps from a horrible cliff into the pitiless waves. By rare good fortune he strikes within reaching distance of the sailors on the ship in which Cleopatra is kept prisoner and is dragged on board. He pays for his rescue by saving the ship from capture by Cornelius, praetor of Alexandria. His identity is soon discovered, however, and the ship's company, at the command of one of their leaders, turn upon their deliverer. Single-handed he beats them off until a ship headed by two of his friends, Marcellus and Alexander, comes to his rescue.

Cleopatra goes to Alexandria. Here Tiberius, the unscrupulous rival, urges his suit and finally attempts to abduct the heroine. Coriolanus in checking this move of his rival is discovered in combat with him and thrown into prison by the emperor. Cleopatra is ordered by the emperor to marry Tiberius if she wishes to save the life of Coriolanus. While she is debating the matter, through a revolt headed by Candace ably supported by Alexander, Artaban, and other heroes, Coriolanus is freed from prison. Coriolanus goes to the emperor and begs the privilege of dying to secure pardon for those involved in the revolt. As the emperor is about to grant this privilege, Marcellus rushes before Augustus

and threatens suicide if the order for Coriolanus' execution be carried out. He also reveals the fact that the emperor's life has been saved by Coriolanus. After further intercession Augustus reluctantly yields. Cleopatra is given to the hero.

Space does not permit the analysis of all the sub-plots of *Cleopatra*. It seems necessary, however, to present briefly the stories of the two duplicating plots—the Artaban-Elisa plot, and the Caesario-Candace plot. The story of Artaban and Elisa is the most typical of all La Calprenède's plots in its structure and in its situations, incidents, and characters. In interest it surpasses the main story of the romance.

The Artaban-Elisa plot.—Artaban, the son of Pompey and Cornelia, after disaster has overtaken his parents, is brought up under the name of Britomarus, by Briton, a soldier formerly in Pompey's service. He goes to the court of Hidaspes, king of Aethiopia. Here he falls in love with the princess, Candace, and this results in his banishment. He next appears in Arminia, where, having erased the image of the fair Candace from his mind, he falls in love with Arsinoe, the king's sister. He is scorned because of his lowly station and again exiled. He now becomes a great general among the Medes and conquers Phraates, king of the Parthians. Pursuing the defeated army to the frontier he captures Elisa, the king's daughter, and her mother. Artaban quarrels with the king of the Medes about the disposition of the captives, and goes over to the side of Phraates. As is to be expected the tide of battle now turns against the Medes. Pressed to accept reward for his services, Artaban asks the hand of Elisa. Elisa is not only refused him but is commanded to marry Tigranes, the two kings having come to an agreement. Artaban leaves the kingdom, but drawn

by his love, returns to be imprisoned. He is now put, a prisoner, on board a ship bound for the court of Tigranes. The ship is attacked by pirates under the leadership of Zenodorus, and Artaban is released to help beat them off. Successful at first, he is later captured by the pirates; picking up Zenodorus he leaps with him in his arms into the sea. Zenodorus is rescued; but to all appearances Artaban never rises, an occurrence not at all strange when it is remembered that he wore a full suit of armor. As a matter of fact, however, he does come to the surface and with the help of a convenient plank keeps afloat until he is picked up by some fishermen. He straightway sets out in search of Elisa, who, it should be noted, was on board the ship captured by Zenodorus. In the meantime Elisa has been rescued by Cornelius and taken to Alexandria.

Near the tomb of Tyridates, Artaban and Elisa meet: the rapturous moment is disturbed by the appearance of Tigranes. A remarkable combat ensues which is stopped by Agrippa, a nobleman of Alexandria who has fallen in love with Elisa. Arrived within the city, Artaban has the pleasure of seeing his three mistresses all together. Through the influence of Tigranes he is confined a prisoner within his own lodgings. A new factor is now introduced to solve the complication. The people of the kingdom of Parthia, having killed their king in an insurrection, clamor for Artaban as their ruler. Artaban's noble birth is established through a medal which he wears, and he is given the Parthian kingdom and the hand of Elisa.[1]

[1] The reader is kept in ignorance of the real identity of the hero until the close. The incidents in the past life of Artaban are introduced in reverse order. The following page references will give the reader some idea of the complex arrangement of the story. His early history is told by Briton, Division Two, pp. 520-75. Artaban disguised as Britomarus tells more of his history, Division Two, pp. 505-508; Division Two, pp. 365-86; and Division Two, pp. 344-46. Elisa tells her history to Candace, Division One, pp. 213-66. The wife of Phraates fills in the rest, Division Two, pp. 498-505.

The Caesario-Candace plot.[1]—Caesario, "the image of the great Caesar intermixed with some ideas of Queen Cleopatra," the son of this glorious pair, goes, after the fall of Alexandria, to the court of Hidaspes, king of the Aethiopians. He falls in love with Candace, daughter of the king. On the king's death Tyribasus, a base rival for the hand of Candace, gets control of the kingdom. Caesario helps Candace to escape down the Nile. He opposes in battle Tyribasus, and defeated, is left for dead on the field. He recovers, and kills Tyribasus. Then he sets out in search of Candace. Candace has not voyaged far when she is captured by the pirate Zenodorus. She sets fire to the ship and escapes on a plank. Her rescue from the waves by Tyridates marks the opening of the romance.

After various adventures, Caesario meets Candace in Alexandria. Augustus, hearing of Caesario's presence within the city, commands his imprisonment. Candace heads a party that succeeds in rescuing him. They are reconciled with Augustus.

The plan of the plot structure of *Cleopatra* is similar to that of *Cassandra*. The last two plots outlined above duplicate the situations and incidents of the first plot; the resemblances are even more striking than in the case of the earlier romance. The heroes are princes without parents, home, or kingdom. They fall in love at a remarkably early age with extremely young princesses.[2] They become knights-errant and determine the fates of kingdoms with a breath. They change sides, carrying victory wherever they go. Having distinguished themselves, they scorn all rewards

[1] The antecedent action is introduced by histories told to Tyridates by Candace's servant, pp. 49-64; by Candace herself, pp. 172-212; and completed by Caesario's relation to Candace, Division Two, pp. 292-317.

[2] Cleopatra and Candace are ten years old when the heroes fall in love with them. It is interesting to note that this is about the age when the heroines in many of the Greek romances fall in love.

save the hands of their fair mistresses, which are denied them. Each hero loves a disdainful mistress who has admirers in power; he is loved by another woman.[1] Coriolanus and Caesario visit their mistresses in disguise. All are now separated from the objects of their devotion and become once more knights-errant. They unwittingly fight against their dearest friends, assist their enemies, and persistently refuse to kill the man who in each case blocks the way to happiness. Cleopatra and Candace are shipwrecked in turn. The three heroines are individually and repeatedly captured by pirates or unscrupulous rivals; and as a master stroke all three in company are attacked by the three unscrupulous rivals and rescued with the greatest difficulty by the three noble lovers. From this point to the happy ending the experiences of the heroes and heroines are practically identical.

Of the thirteen remaining plots two bear directly upon the principal plot and the Artaban-Elisa plot, presenting as they do two rivals of the heroes. In the story of Marcellus and Julia, the first of these to be considered, we find in Marcellus the type of the generous rival. This rival is unselfishly interested in Cleopatra's happiness, and it is only through a mistaken belief as to the hero's loyalty that he is brought into collusion with the unscrupulous rival in a plot to separate Coriolanus and Cleopatra. As soon as he discovers his mistake he sets about helping to bring them together, and at the close is the one most influential in securing from Augustus the hero's pardon. The marriage between Marcellus and Julia is not a love match. Thus throughout the romance Julia is free to complicate the plot by making love to Coriolanus, Artaban, Drusus, and other less promi-

[1] This love situation is too conventional to serve as argument by itself. In *Cleopatra* it is repeated, also, in the stories of the Philadelph and Delia, and Tyridates and Mariamne.

nent heroes. Media, the hero of the second of the two plots under consideration, is the type of the unscrupulous rival. From the beginning to the end he opposes Artaban. His marriage at the close to Urania is against his will, and his previous relations with her are unimportant compared with his relations to the characters of the Artaban-Elisa plot.

The Tyridates-Mariamne plot is introduced because the house of Tyridates serves as a gathering-place for the six principal characters. Furthermore, as uncle to Elisa he is entitled to a hearing. The story itself is not interwoven with any of the other stories, but in its nature and tone fits well into the romance. There are two other plots which touch the main plot rather lightly; they are hardly more than histories told for the entertainment of characters in the romance. These are the stories of Arminius-Isminia, and Alcamenes-Menalippa. La Calprenède does, however, join them to the principal story after a fashion. Isminia, for instance, serves Julia as a slave; and Arminius is brought into the main thread of action through a gladiatorial combat. Furthermore, Arminius is united to Isminia in Alexandria at the time when the principal characters are made similarly happy. Alcamenes and Menalippa also participate in this glorious conclusion. The Alcamenes-Menalippa story may be considered a minor supporting plot, so strong is the resemblance of Alcamenes' adventures to those of the chief heroes. As an errant knight he wins in disguise fame at a foreign court. Menalippa falls in love with him as he lies asleep by a babbling brook (cf. *Coriolanus* 291, and *Philadelph* 317, 506). Denied the hand of the princess and banished, he goes over to the enemy, carrying victory with him; he visits his beloved in disguise; and unwittingly fights against his friends. Like the Arminius-Isminia plot, the

story centers on the theme of a hero in love with the daughter of a hostile king.

Alexander as twin brother to Cleopatra is given an important rôle. He not only has a history of his own, but introduces another family whose exploits furnish material for two other plots. All three plots are pretty well woven into the main plot.

Of the five remaining plots four are introduced to round out Cleopatra's family history, and the fifth properly belongs to the Philadelph-Delia story. These are all brief and not very fully developed.

In spite of the complicated structure of the *Cleopatra*, the careful reader will find numerous hints to guide him through the labyrinth of plot. In the latter part, frequent references are made to past incidents; some incidents are told again from a new view-point; others are discussed and explained.

Although one finishes the romance with the impression that the story covers a long period of time, in reality the main action up to the point where Coriolanus is imprisoned in Alexandria, within a hundred pages of the close, covers less than a week. La Calprenède must have taken considerable pains to get his characters into Alexandria in so short a space of time; but from this point on, when everything is in shape for a rapid, brilliant conclusion, he loiters around in an exasperating way. It is well-nigh impossible to determine accurately the period of time included between Coriolanus' imprisonment and the happy ending; it certainly extends beyond a week, possibly it covers two. Even though three weeks be taken as the total period, *Cleopatra* still has greater compression than *Cassandra*. *Cassandra* with half the number of plots covers twice as long a period. The "histories" introducing the antecedent action of *Cleopatra*

are much better handled than those of *Cassandra*. La Calprenède probably felt the necessity of greater care in the handling of a greater number of plots. Possibly, too, he had gained better control of the method employed. The indirect narration focuses on one geographical point. The direct narration in each romance focuses first on a point near a large city and then shifts to the city itself.

A comparison of the situations and incidents of *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra* reveals some interesting facts. The central situation in each is much the same; and yet there is an essential difference, a difference that vitally distinguishes the two romances. Let us review the two situations. In *Cleopatra* the hero is in love with a princess, is loved by another woman, and contends against a rival more powerful at court than himself. In *Cassandra* the hero is in love with a princess, is loved by another woman, and contends against a rival more powerful, not at court, but on the battlefield. Alexander, the rival in *Cassandra*, captures the kingdom and marries the heroine. The rival in *Cleopatra* opposes the hero through influence at court. The fundamental difference between the two romances becomes more evident if the main situation in *Cassandra* be stated in a different way. The hero in disguise wins favor in a foreign court through exploits in war; he falls in love with the king's daughter and refuses all rewards save her hand, which is denied him. Up to this point the situation is closely paralleled by that of Coriolanus in *Cleopatra*. Here, however, the resemblance stops. Oroondates, the hero in *Cassandra*, is deprived of his mistress by a world conqueror; Coriolanus contends aganst a court favorite. Oroondates marshals a great army to capture Babylon, and so wins his mistress; Coriolanus wins his mistress by bringing the emperor over to his side.

Contrary to what might be expected, with a shifting of

the issue from the battlefield to the drawing-room, women take a less active part in *Cleopatra* than in the earlier romance. Cassandra is deceived into believing the hero false through the woman in love with the hero; Cleopatra, through the man in love with herself. In the sub-plots of *Cassandra* also the women are more aggressive. It is interesting to note that these women are all widows, as of course is the heroine. In *Cleopatra* no widow has an important rôle, and the heroines are for the most part only the glorious prizes to be apportioned at the close.

In line with the more subtle handling of the issues at stake, we find in *Cleopatra* less frequent use of the supernatural to foreshadow or advance the plot. In the earlier romance, at least five of the principal characters are retained on the banks of the Euphrates or brought there through oracles; and a sixth is sent thither by a vision. In fact Artaxerxes is the only hero of note who finds his way naturally to the scene of action. In *Cleopatra*, the characters all arrive at Babylon in the natural course of their adventures; at no point are they directed by supernatural agency.[1] Not until the close is the supernatural introduced. Tiberius is at last discouraged from his designs on Cleopatra by the prophecy of Thrasyllus; and Augustus is encouraged to repentance by the appearance of Caesar's ghost. This decrease in the use of the supernatural is to be noted also in the minor features such as omens, miraculous herbs for healing, potions, and the like.

Cleopatra shows a marked increase in direct narration. Hardly a third of *Cassandra* is direct narration, twenty-two per cent, to be exact; while forty-nine per cent of *Cleopatra* is direct narration, and this, too, in spite of the presence of

[1] In the story of Alcamenes and Menalippa, one of the subordinate plots of *Cleopatra*, an oracle is introduced, but in no vital way does it affect the plot.

three times as many sub-plots where the percentage of indirect narration is naturally high. The main plot runs sixty-eight per cent of direct narration, a high proportion for a heroic romance.[1]

In other ways the plot is lightened and the movement made more rapid; the speeches are shorter; there are fewer soliloquies; letters are less frequently introduced; and there is a decrease in the length and number of descriptions. In *Cassandra* La Calprenède exhibits an especial fondness for descriptions of armies; he rarely passes an opportunity for describing the marshaling of forces, and military maneuvers; if he does forego the indulgence it is with a sigh and an apology. There is little of this in *Cleopatra*. In his earlier work he felt the need of hurrying on; there is hardly a page that does not express the desire, but he had not learned how. In the later romance he had learned how, and he felt less trammeled by the conventions of heroic romance. The plot marches forward more gracefully, more rapidly, and more inevitably.

THE SOURCES OF THE PLOTS OF *Cassandra* AND *Cleopatra*

At this point it is not proposed to go into a full discussion of the historical sources of the romance.[2] The most impor-

[1] In *Clelia* one of the characters is made to say (*Clelia*, p. 140, ed. of 1678. London printed and to be sold by H. Herringman, D. Newman, T. Cockerel, S. Heyrick, W. Cadman, S. Laundes, G. Marriot, W. Croak, and C. Smith):

"I did not love to be my own Historian, and I must tell you again, that I never will, and that those who will write such Books as that famous blind man did, whose works all *Greece* adores, must always introduce some persons to tell the adventures of others. For then the Relator commends or condemns those of whom he speaks according to their merit. They will impartially describe the persons whom they do introduce, they will descant upon things and mingle their own thoughts with theirs; but when any are their own Historians, all that they shall say in their own advantage is suspected; and it is so difficult to do, that if it be a woman who tells her own tale, she cannot handsomely say, I made him in love with me; and if it be a man, he cannot well say, that he was loved, or that he was valiant; and therefore it is a thousand times better to have the story told in the third person than in the first," etc.

[2] Wherever the plot of a play has been drawn from the romance, the sources of the romance have been examined to determine the exact indebtedness of the play to the sources as well as to the romance.

tant will be noted, however, with the special view of determining La Calprenède's dependence on these sources. La Calprenède states very clearly his attitude toward his material in the preface to Part III of the romance, where he addresses Cassandra in the following words:[1]

Take care also, if you please, to excuse me to her; and if she think it strange, that having kept myself hitherto enough within probability, I take a little liberty in the description of some particular actions, and that instead of following the manner of writing used by Plutarch, Quintus Curtius, Justin, and other Authors from whom I have drawn the foundations of your History, I make my Heroes march into the fight, in a way somewhat nearer to that of Homer, Virgil, Tasso, and other writers of that nature, who have beautified the truth with some ornaments, rather more pleasing than confined to a strict and regular liklihood; say for my defence, that having for your quarrel assembled so many great men, famous in Antiquity, and renowned amongst all the Authours that have written the History of their age, I, in favour of them, have exempted my self from that severity, and believ'd that in taking a diversion by that kind of recital, I might represent some particulars of that valiant Dame, who hath made them known to the whole earth. Moreover, our narration is much more fixt upon the especial actions of our Heroes, than upon those of whole nations; and we much rather seek the reputation of Oroondates and Arsaces, than that of the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians in general, but yet without making them remarkable by impossible actions, or extravagant inventions.

In an address to the reader appended to the fifth and last part of the romance, La Calprenède discusses more specifically his departure from historical fact.

You will have the patience I hope to read these few Lines I am obliged to add, that I may justify part of those things which I have written. I have been bound up in many Passages of this Conclusion by the truth of History, though perhaps I have altered it in some places, where it is least known. If I make Statira and

[1] P. 237.

her Sister live again contrary to the report of Plutarch, who says she was killed by Roxana's cruelty; I have followed the Opinion of many Historians, and I make her pass the rest of her life in countries very remote from those where she spent her younger years, and under a different name from that by which she was known to Plutarch. I well might give Darius a son without contradicting the Historians that write of Alexander, who only mention his Daughters; I make him dead in the opinion of the World before Alexander entered upon his Father's Territories, he comes thither no more till after his death, and therefore those Authors might well have been ignorant of Artaxerxes his life, he having passed it in very far Countries, and under another name, after he had lost it in the general belief. I with the same licence might make him to be the Great Arsaces, who founded the Empire of the Parthians: and Historians not having given him any certain birth, have afforded me the liberty to make him be born of Darius: I should undoubtedly have made him recover his Father's Empire, if I could have done it without falsifying truths which are known to all the World, and which have left me a free disposing of my Adventures: I should have changed something in the destiny of Roxana and Cassander, if I might have been permitted, and if I had pardoned Roxana, in consideration of her sex, I should have killed Cassander to shew the punishment of Vice, as well as the recompense of Vertue; but the rest of his life was too well known by his Crimes, and by his ruling in Greece. I have been freer in those of Perdiccas and his Brother; 'tis certain they were slain within a while after Alexander's death, by a Sedition amongst their Forces, and there is so little spoken of the particulars of their death, that I believed I might lawfully frame it to my History.

This idea of introducing events that seem probable La Calprenède evidently kept constantly before him. He had already advanced it in his preface to Part II (p. 116):

I think nevertheless, though other beauties be wanting in it, one shall at least find few things that thwart either probability or decency; nay, to that degree, that I find most difficulty to accommodate those passages to a liklihood, which are really in History. Methinks it does not ill mingled with *Romance;* and of those

accidents that are feign'd, there are not many in which I could be contradicted, if I would make them pass for true.

And again in the letter to Calista prefaced to Part IV (p. 342):[1]

If all the adventures of it are not equal, and if you find some places in them not so strong, nor so diverting as others, you will be pleased to consider, that my invention has not had an entire liberty, and that it has been rack'd by Chronology, by the truth of the History, and by those things I had already written; and in short, that I have been put to it, as many others would have been, to make Darius his son passe his time handsomely in Scythia, whilst his country was laid desolate, and his father deprived of his Empire, and of his life, by Alexander's victorious forces. Yet in this encounter, and in many others, which truly have kept me in troublesome constraint, I have stuck to probability as much as I possibly could, and have made up a story which in mine own opinion is not the most defective of this piece.

The historians quoted are the ones to whom he is most indebted—Plutarch, Justin,[2] and Quintus Curtius.[3] From all of these he drew numerous details. He is especially indebted to Justin for the remarkable combat between Lysimachus and the lion; and to Quintus Curtius for the account of the defeat of Darius at the hands of Alexander.

In *Cleopatra* La Calprenède is little hampered by the historical sources, nor does he depend on them to any considerable extent for his phrasing. Robert Loveday in the preface to his translation (ed. of 1674) writes:

If thou beest an Historian, thou wilt trace his ingenius Pen through Tacitus, Florus, Suetonius, and others that wrote Augustus life, and find with what skilful method he hath culled such Flowers from each of their Gardens, as was fittest to beautifie his Garland.

But the quantity of flowers so culled is almost inconsiderable. Another historical source that might be mentioned

[1] Lit. transl. of preface, Tome 7, Partie 4, Livre I, ed. of 1645.
[2] Translated into French in 1616. [3] Translated into French in 1653.

in passing is Flavius Josephus, from whom he took many details in the story of Tyridates and Mariamne.[1]

The situations and incidents of *Cassandra* were not drawn to any considerable extent from the Greek romances; in fact the only incident of much importance to be so derived is that of the execution of slaves in the place of the heroine and her sister (*Cassandra*, p. 243). In Tatius[2] a slave is executed in the heroine's place to deceive the hero and at another time the hero sees the heroine apparently killed.[3]

In *Cleopatra*, however, there are numerous parallels to situations and incidents of the Greek romances. The heroine is frequently shipwrecked (*Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 211, 473, 523; Part II, pp. 114, 344, 523: and compare with Heliodorus,[4] 136; Tatius, 402, etc.). She is captured by pirates (*Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 75, 206; Part II, pp. 53, 258; Heliodorus, p. 17; Longus *Daphnis & Chloe* (Bohn ed.), p. 281; Tatius, p. 440, etc.). The hero and the heroine fall in love at an extremely early age. In *Cleopatra* the most remarkable example of this precocity is that of Alexander and Artemissa, aged ten and eight years respectively, who fall seriously in love and converse in the most approved heroic style (cf. pp. 274, *Daphnis & Chloe*, p. 267, and *Clitopho and Leucippe*, p. 355). The heroine is sold as a slave (*Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 54; *Clitopho and Leucippe*, p. 450). A brother attempts to seduce the heroine (*Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 467; *Clitopho and Leucippe*, 463, where at the beginning of the romance the hero is engaged to his half-sister). The story of Caesario-Candace in the *Cleopatra* has borrowed many details from the *Aethiopian History* of Heliodorus. In both, the hero, a visitor, falls in love with the daughter of Hidaspes,

[1] Cf. *The Jewish War*, Book I, chap. xxii.

[2] *The Loves of Clitopho and Leucippe* (Bohn ed., 1855), p. 440.

[3] P. 410. Sidney uses the incident in his *Arcadia*.

[4] *An Aethiopian History* (Tudor transl.).

king of Aethiopia. This daughter is miraculously white. The hero and heroine travel from the kingdom into a series of wonderful adventures: they are captured repeatedly, together and separately, by pirates and rivals; they are shipwrecked. The pirate chief falls in love with the heroine; the heroine is loved by the Roman praetor and by a native Aethiopian of obscure birth. The hero is loved by an unscrupulous woman in power. The force of these resemblances is strengthened by the similarity in the accounts of the great wealth at the Aethiopian court; in the introduction of the scene on the battlefield at night where the woman weeps over the body of a dear one; and by the names common to Heliodorus and La Calprenède of Oroondates, Hidaspes, Alcamenes, and Arsace.[1]

The Arthurian romances furnished La Calprenède with very few situations and incidents. The use of disguise, the introduction of tournaments, scorn of wealth, banishment, imprisonment, rescue of heroine from rivals, are of course conventional with the Arthurian romances. Artaban's shifting from side to side carrying victory with him is paralleled frequently (cf. Launcelot). The incident where Oroondates, by donning the armor of a knight whom he has slain, lures on an enemy to his death has a parallel in *Libeaus Desconus*, and *The Faerie Queene*.

The later romances furnished very little in the way of incident or situation. There are, however, numerous parallels; and in some cases evidence of relationship is unmistakable. Barclay's *Argenis* suggested the story of Orontes and Thalestris.[2] In *Primaleon of Greece* there are two situations

[1] Not all of these are used in the Caesario story but are found elsewhere in La Calprenède's romances.

[2] Cf. *Cassandra*, pp. 164, for La Calprenède's version; and, for Barclay's presentation, the story of Theocrine, *Argenis*, Book III, chaps. viii+. The *Argenis* was first published in Latin in 1621. Other editions appeared in

parallel to situations in *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra:* one where Edward turns gardener in order to be near his mistress,[1] and another where the hero is made to challenge himself to a combat.[2]

THE STYLE OF *Cassandra* AND *Cleopatra*

Cassandra.—In an address to the reader prefacing the second part of *Cassandra*, La Calprenède writes (p. 116):[3]

> As for other matters, seek neither for Science, nor for fine Discourse, perchance thou shalt find neither in this Piece; and I may say unfeignedly, it is written with too little pains, or rather with too little care, to hope for anything studyed, or delicate in it. In what I write (after my obedience to an absolute command) my only aim is to divert myself; and I find no other advantage in this employment, and I am very far from pretending glory from a thing which I have not own'd, and which I will forsake when I can no longer disavow it.

A modern reader certainly would be justified in considering these remarks as merely a display of becoming modesty. To one, however, acquainted with the fine style of Mlle Scudéry, they have some point. In *Clelia*[4] we find her

1622, 1627, 1630, 1634, 1642, 1655, 1659 (two eds.), 1664 (two eds.), 1671, 1673. It was translated into English—the prose by R. Le Grys, the verses by F. L. May—in 1629; and again, this time by Kingsmill Long, in 1636, an edition "beautified with Pictures Together with a Key to unlock the whole Story"; and again in 1772 by "a Lady." It was translated into Italian in 1629, into French in 1632, 1732; and into German in 1644 and 1770.

[1] *Primaleon*, pp. 77; *Cassandra*, pp. 58.

[2] *Primaleon*, pp. 188; *Cleopatra*, Part II, pp. 151. The edition of *Primaleon* referred to is that of 1619. The title-page reads as follows:

"The Famous and renowned history of Primaleon of Greece Sonne to the great and mighty Prince Palmerin d'Olivia, Emperor of Constantinople Describing his Knightly deeds of Arms, as also the memorable adventures of Prince Edward of England; and continuing the former history of Palmendos, brother to the fortunate Prince Primaleon &. The First Book translated out of French & Italian into English by A. M. London 1619."

[3] Literal translation of preface of French ed. of 1644, Tome 3, Partie II, Livre I. This preface is cut at the beginning, but in the passage quoted the translation is faithful.

[4] Part IV, Book II, p. 541, ed. of 1678.

theory of how a heroic romance should be written. One of the characters (Plotina) speaks:

Were I to invent a History, I think I should make things much more perfect than they are. All Women should be admirably fair, and all Men should be as valiant as *Hector*, all my *Heroes* should slay at least a hundred men in every battel, I would build Palaces of precious stones, I would make Prodigies fall out every moment, and without troubling myself to invent with judgment, I should suffer my fancy to act as it pleased; so that seeking out only surprising events, without examining, whether they were consistent to reason or no, I should certainly make very extraordinary things; a continual Shipwracks, burning of Bities,[1] and a thousand like other accidents, which occasion handsome lamentations and descriptions.

To which Anacrion replies—

Should you invent a History after the manner you speak of, amiable *Plotina*, (said he)you would do a thing no doubt sufficiently strange; for with rare Events, wonderful Descriptions, heroical Actions, extraordinary Matters, and Palaces of Precious Stones, you would make one of the lewdest Fables than can be possibly invented; there being without doubt nothing worse, than to see things of this nature made without order and reason . . . . when you invent a Fable, your purpose is to be believ'd, and the true art of Fiction is handsomely to resemble truth, etc.

And another speaker (Hermineus) says—

And as diversity or variety is the Soul of the World, he ought to take heed of making all men *Heroes*, all Women equally fair, the dispositions and humors of all particular persons alike and correspondent, and Love, Anger, Jealousie, Hatred, to produce always the same effects. On the contrary, he must imitate that admirable variety, which is seen in all men, according to the example of Homer.

Anacrion further says (p. 542), speaking of historical romances:

For when names of Countreys are employed, which all the world hears of, and wherewith Geography is exactly acquainted;

[1] Evidently misprint for *Cities*.

and when great events are made use of, which are sufficiently known, the mind is wholly dispos'd to suffer itself to be seduc'd, and to receive the fiction together with the truth, provided it be handsomely interwoven, and the Writer take pains to study the Age well he makes choice of, to improve all the rarities of it, and to conform to the customs of places he treats of, not to mention Laurels in Countreys where there was never any seen, not to confound the Religions or Customs of Nations that are to be introduc'd; though they may with judgment be a little drawn to the usage of the present age, to the end they be more delightful; I am confident if this be observ'd, and they which are introduc'd in a Fable of this nature, speak well, the passions be well pointed out, the adventures be natural and prudently invented, all the little matter which discover the bottom of mens hearts, be pertinently plac'd; Vice be blam'd, Virtue rewarded, and Variety dispers'd through the whole, without confusion, if the fancy be always subject to the judgment, extraordinary events be rationally grounded; if there be knowledge, without affectation, delight, ornament, and pleasantness, wherever it is necessary; if the style be neither too high nor too low, and no violence offer'd to decency and good manners; I am confident, I say, such a Work will please all that read it, be more delightful to them than a History, and withal be more profitable.

No one can read a page of Mlle Scudéry's romance without feeling a constant straining after the effects described above. Far more stress is laid on the delicate phrasing of polite conversation or love letters, or on the devising of ingenious details for embroidering the narration, than on the effective advancement of the story itself. The plot serves primarily to bring together models of stilted conversation, artificial letters and verses, and ingenious methods of social diversion.

Compared to Mlle Scudéry, surely La Calprenède may lay claim to a simple style. Read in time of leisure when the fancy runs free it is surprising how fascinating the romances become: the style soon slips below the surface of

things to be noticed and the characters move and have their being in a world, unlike our own to be sure, but in one perfectly suited to them and in itself interesting. If one gives himself up to the genius of the place he finds nothing to scoff at, nothing that jars; all is painted in purple and gold, but the colors blend well; there is no incongruity, no lack of harmony.

Polemon's home, the scene of activities in the first part of the romance, is thus described.

Polemon's house was seated at the foot of a little hill, about five or six hundred paces from the Euphrates; on that side toward the River it was sheltered with a high Wood, which reached from the Garden walls almost to the Bank of it; on that toward the hill there were many Vineyards, and on the other two an open plain of a vast and spacious breadth; on the side towards Babylon it spread itself to the very Gates, and on the other as far as the Temple of Apollo. It was in that, the Princes caused their Army to encamp, covering themselves on the side toward their Enemies with the wood, and with the Hill.

The City of Babylon, where the rest of the direct action is placed, is presented as follows:[1]

The great City of Babylon (the stately Work of valiant *Semiramis*, and then considered as one of the wonders of the World) is seated on both sides of the *Euphrates*, which passing between its buildings, divides the Town into two equal parts; they are joyned together by many Bridges, and principally by one very great one of Stone, different in matter from its other Buildings, and considerable for its breadth, height, and marvellous structure. The Banks of the River are kept up with two Brick Walls, and have high large Causies on each side, which yet would not be able to stop the impetuousness of the Stream, when it is swelled with Rain, if there were not deep open places at certain distances. . . . . There was to be seen that miracle of a Hanging Garden, so cried up by Ancient Writers, where in Earth carried thither with an admirable industry and sustained by Pillars of two hundred

[1] P. 473.

foot high, there grew Trees whose Branches seemed to touch the Clouds, presenting tufted Forrests to the eye of Passengers above the tops of the highest Buildings.

These two descriptions are not very highly colored and are distinctly from the point of view of the soldier. In nearly every case the descriptions of places are slight, as in that of the Garden of Abdolomius, which he passes over with the remark "It is not necessary for me to describe the beauty of a place which you have often seen." In the course of what happens in the next page or two we learn that this garden possesses a grot, secret arbors, fountains, and murmuring rivulets; but these details are woven into the story. In the following description we have a good example of his method:[1]

We were in a very close Arbour, yet from it we might see the gate of the Garden, and know all that was done in it, without being perceiv'd. We saw the Ladies part several ways, according to their different inclinations: The Queens began to walk in the broad Alley, which went along the side of a little stream. The Princess *Parisatis*, with Apamia, and *Arsinoe*, Artabasus his daughters, and sisters to *Barsina*, withdrew into an Arbour; and the Princess *Statira* making a great cushion to be carried by *Cleone*, the dearest of her maids of honor, walk'd toward a Grot, where there was a pleasing Fountain. My Prince having seen her pass by, gave her the leisure to retire as she intended, and a while after slipt through a covered Alley, which led unseen unto that Grot. He gave me leave to follow him, and going softly, and without noise, we came into the entry of it; my Master trembling with love and respect, was even like a lost man; but he was much more so when drawing near his Princess, he saw her laid along by the edge of the Fountain, and already faln asleep upon the Cushion which *Cleone* had brought her.

He often uses a setting appropriate to the mood of his characters as in the following description.

[1] *Cassandra*, p. 56.

Cassandra, p. 495[1]

She had some other discourses with herself, full of irresolution, when she entred into the Wood, that had been shewed her, and there upon the green swarth she lost that track, she had followed, and wandered about a great while among the Trees. That Wood had something more wild and savage in it than others, and was more suitable than ordinary, to a melancholy solitary humor: The Trees were of an excessive height, and with age were almost covered with Moss and Ivy; their tufted Branches cast a shade, which even at high noon, defended a great deal of the ground from the sun's most piercing Beams, among the Trees one might see many pieces of Rock overgrown also with Moss, and for the most part dropping with a clear Water, which moystened the Grass round about them, and which with the help of certain little Springs, turned insensibly into a little Rivulet: The place was rugged and unfit for walking as well by reason of the Rocks, as of thick Bryars and Bushes that stopt the passage, and shewed, it was but very little frequented. The Princess roved about a while, where it was passable with least inconveniency; and though she was almost out of hope, she found some pleasure (nevertheless) in visiting a place so unfrequented, and so conformable to the pensive humor she had long been in.

It is only occasionally that La Calprenède goes into such details as we find in the following description of the Temple of Apollo.[2]

The Platform of it was a Pentagone, and the Frontespiece appeared in Perspective, between two rowes of trees of an extraordinary height, which made a long Walk whose other end reach'd to the bank of the River. This Front was marvelously high, beautified with many Statues, and particularly with two Marble Pillars of an excessive height, upon which the God *Apollo*, and the Goddess his Sister, were placed in their Chariots. The Gates were Cedar, standing on the top of five or six Steps, of the fairest Parian Marble that was ever seen: the Floor of the Temple was Paved with the same, and the Walls were all adorned with Pictures, which represented the most famous actions of that God [follows a list of these pictures]. . . . .

[1] Literal translation of *Cassandre*, Tome 9, Partie V, Livre 2, p. 308.

[2] *Cassandra*, p. 36.

In his description of his heroines La Calprenède exercises less restraint; the following description of Berenice is thoroughly characteristic.[1]

Cassandra, p. 216

Both of them were exactly perfect, but that of Berenice's was the more delicate, her skin whiter, her features milder, and more suitable to her sex; she had something in her eyes so bright and piercing, that a heart must of necessity either be stupid or strongly prepossessed, if it could bear her looks without alteration. As she was neither fair nor brown so were her eyes neither grey nor black, but their color holding something of both, accompanied that of her hair, which likewise being neither fair nor black, had borrowed a shadow of each, that made a clear auburn colour, incomparably more beautiful than either; her face was little, but it had naturally all the fullness that was necessary to form a complete oval, and though she was slender, her neck and hands were plump, and marvellously well proportioned; her looks and all her motions were accompanied with a natural sweetness which showed itself plainly in the smallest of her actions; and though her countenance were truly full of Majesty, yet was it one of those which strike less fear than love, which seldom own themselves with lightenings and thunders, able to cloud their ordinary serenity, and which ill accommodate themselves to the motions of the soul, when they are set at work by anger.

The sentences are for the most part long.[2] Balance is frequent: almost any page will furnish sentences like this:[3]

If one of us must die, 'tis I alone, I alone am guilty, perjured, faithless; and you are still innocent, still firm, still constant; I am she who have unworthily betrayed you, and basely forsaken you, and you are he who hath too generously, and too faithfully lov'd me.

[1] Koerting says that La Calprenède lists the details in the following order: "Haltung, Gang, Teint, Augen, Mund, Zähne, Haare, Busen, Hände." A more complete analysis of his character, description, and presentation will be found below in the discussion of the *Cleopatra*.

[2] Cf. the discussion of sentence length under *Cleopatra*.

[3] P. 106.

Sometimes the balance is sustained through a half-column folio as in Lysimachus' speech beginning on p. 148.[1] A brief passage will suffice to illustrate its character.

Hephestion has the happiness to possess her, and Lysimachus the glory to die for her. If I have been jealous of Hephestion's fortune, he ought to envy my destiny; and if his passion could not be more happily recompenced, mine could not have a more honorable conclusion.

The balance is generally simple, without any further artificial arrangements. Sometimes the author cannot resist exhibiting his ingenuity in more involved balance, as in the following:

Cassandra, p. 567

In *Berenice's* face there was more sweetness, but more majesty in *Statira's:* yet in that difference, *Statira's* majesty was so sweet and Berenice's sweetness so Majestick, that all the other beauties in the world could not have shown so great a sweetness, and so great a Majesty together.

Nor does he hesitate to balance the abstract with the concrete. Lysimachus says:[2]

I left my bed, and my chamber, but not that mortal sorrow, which ought to have brought me to my grave, etc.,

and Thalestris speaks in similar fashion:[3]

All the favors he had stoln from me, all the familiarities I had innocently granted him, came thronging into my memory, and making a mixture of shame and anger, kindled in my face a colour like fire, and in my mind a deadly wrath.

The style although not ornate is well colored with figures of speech. It is said of Oroondates:[4]

His fire was kindled again by this recital, and so much of his affection as was smothered by the belief of his Princesses infidelity,

[1] Cf. p. 97 for another as long and balanced throughout.

[2] *Cassandra*, p. 149. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 170. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

broke forth again into such a violent flame, by the knowledge of her innocence, that he became more ardent, and more passionate than ever.

Parisatis and Statira are described leaning their cheeks against each others':[1]

Their tears mixt themselves confusedly with such a grace, that in that amiable disorder wherein love languished with pity, sadness appeared in its chiefest triumph.

Lysimachus thus describes the effect of his second sight of Parisatis:[2]

In this interim my condition was very much changed, and that second sight of *Parisatis* had so weakened my heart that it was no longer able to defend itself, nor to avoid those mortal wounds, which it hath so dearly conserved, and wherof it neither can nor will be cured, but by the end of my life alone. Sorrow appeared so charming in the countenance of that dear[3] prostrate Lady, and her eyes, though full of water, threw such piercing darts at me, that being quite surcharged with love and compassion, I went forth with the King in such a perplexity, that I had much ado to know where I was. When I was gotten into my Tent, her Idea came yet more strongly into my remembrance, and notwithstanding all the attempts I made to blot it out, my passion being whetted by that difficulty, assaulted me with greater violence, and seem'd to inflame itself with anger, at the resistance I made against an affection that was so glorious to me.

Sustained personification of the passions and emotions are the most frequent figures employed. The illustrations cited might be duplicated from nearly any page; one more example will be sufficient:[4]

His jealousie encreasing by the strength of appearances, grew then so insolent, as to dispute for superiority with his joy; and indeed it had not so little power, but that it held his mind for some

[1] *Cassandra*, p. 120. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

[3] The Folio reads *fear*, evidently a misprint.

[4] P. 202.

time wavering in suspence; but in the end the excellencie of his nature, and of his affection, which was absolutely pure, and disinterested, gave joy the upper hand, and made him more satisfied with the life of his Princess, than afflicted with her inconstancy.

La Calprenède is fond of light and color: the sparkle of the dew, the flashing of armor in the sun, and the glitter of jewels light up the pages of the romance. The lovely daughters of Darius lay aside mourning at the close and appear in "all those embellishments which the misfortunes of their life had made them to neglect."

Then Gold and Jewels of inestimable value glittered with a Magnificence suitable to the quality of those Great Princesses, and their Beauty receiving its former lustre by those exterior Ornaments, after having been a long time buryed in afflictions, shew'd it self like the Sun, when after tedious Storms, and foggy Mists, it breaks forth of the Cloud that had obscured it, and appears to our eyes again with its usual brightness.

The figures rarely pass the bounds of good taste; only occasionally does one encounter such comparisons as that made of Oroondates, who "as a young Lion wakens his anger with his tail, animated his courage by the remembrance of his losses." On the whole the style although diffuse is vigorous; and although rhetorical is not florid.

Cleopatra.—The setting of the *Cleopatra* is drawn with a firmer hand and more abundantly along certain lines. There are more sketches of landscapes and bowers and gardens. Fuller pictures of the social life of the time are furnished; a ball, a hunt, and a gladiatorial combat are presented in detail. Greater emphasis is laid on social graces; the atmosphere is more formal. The descriptive range of *Cleopatra* is accordingly wider than that of *Cassandra*, but as a rule the descriptions are shorter. This is especially

true of landscapes: springs, fountains, brooks, and glades flourish but are disposed of in a line or two.[1]

Formal gardens and bowers figure more prominently in *Cleopatra* than in *Cassandra*.[2]

This Noble Assembly, the noblest haply that the whole Universe could have afforded, went all together into a spacious walk, covered in a manner with trees of extraordinary height and abutted, as all the rest did, upon a large *Basin* of Water which is in the midst of the Garden, having in it one principal figure which may be seen from all the extremities, and that is a *Neptune*, placed in the midst of the water, seated in his Chariot, drawn by *Tritons*, and holding in his right hand his *Trident*, which at the three points of it cast forth water to a greater height than the highest trees of the Garden. He is compassed about by a hundred *Nereids* of Alablaster, disposed about the extremities of the Basis, in a hundred several postures placed at equal distances within a row of Pilasters of white marble, by which it is encompassed. From this place, by the means of twelve spacious walks, which abutt there, may be seen all the extremities of the Garden, and the end of every walk is remarkable for some object that does a certain pleasant violence on the sight, and surprises the Spectator in twelve different manners. That particular walk into which we were gotten, entertained our eyes only with the gate of the Garden, and a prospect of *Rome;* but all the rest end either with perspectives, made with so much art that they deceive the sight, even to the extremity thereof; or with grotts, admirable as well for the variety of shells, and the Nacre whereof they are built, as for the diversity of the springs and figures, whereby they are adorned, or with Arbours miraculous for their structure, or lastly with descents of water, ordered with such extraordinary artifice, as that falling from an excessive height upon a many several steps, it makes a confused but withal, a pleasant noise, and so runs into a number of little channels, which border the Walks in divers places, cross them in divers others, so that people are forced to go over them upon Bridges, having on both sides Pilasters of Marble.

[1] "It was a most delightful Spring whose natural beauty, a little Art had very much augmented; the source was clear and lively, the grass green and fresh round about, and, by a great tuft of Trees, embraced and defended from the Sun, and the sight of passengers" (Vol. II, p. 127).

[2] *Cleopatra*, Vol. II.

This turning to formal gardens and bowers is in part a concession to the following of the school of Scudéry. Certainly Mlle Scudéry herself never surpassed in her most fanciful flights the following description of a love galley:[1]

The boat was in the form of a little Galley compassed about by a row of Pilasters, which seemed to be of gold, but was indeed of wood guilt; without which hung out a hundred arms gilt as the row of Pilasters, which sustained a hundred great torches of virgin wax, whereby the darkness of the night was removed to the distance of many stadia. The oars seemed to be of gold proportionably to all the rest, and the Rowers were twelve little Cupids winged, armed with arrows and quiver, and covered with cloth of gold in those parts of their bodyes where it was not requisite they should be naked. At the extremity of the stern grew up a golden tree, of the height of an ordinary mast having at the top the form of a Scuttle, compassed about by a row of golden Pilasters and twelve arms proportionable to those below, wherein were twelve torches and in the midst of all that sight was a Heart hanging down, which seemed to be all on fire, and out of which by some strange artifice, there visible issued flames ascending up towards the stars, and made more light than all the torches. In the distances which were between the torches were hung up twelve streamers, which were tost up and down by the flames, and the smoke a thousand several wayes, and in which by reason of the greatnesse of the light there might be distinctly seen double A.A.'s with other characters, expressing several waies the word ANTONIA. The same Letters and the same Characters were disposed up and down all over the boat, as also upon the Pilasters, the oars and the mast, and it was so lightsom everywhere, that the least things could not be more distinctly discerned than they were at that time.

The descriptions of the heroines do not differ materially from those in *Cassandra*. The following presentation of Elisa is thoroughly characteristic.

Our former description of *Candace's* beauty dispences with a farther recital, but we should deal unjustly with the fair unknown,

[1] Vol. I, p. 221.

should we hide them in silence, in whom the Queen found many delicacies that had a far better title to her wonder, than the Praetor's relation could challenge, the new faln snow was tanned in comparison of the refined purity of that white that was the ground of her complexion, and if sorrow had gathered the carnations of her cheeks, sham'd[1] to see herself surpriz'd half naked, though by persons of her own sex, had replanted of hers there, with such fresh advantages, as any weaker eye than *Candace's* would have shrunk at the brightness of that mingled lustre; her mouth (as well for shape as complexion) shamed the imitation of the best Pensils, and the liveliest colours; and though some petty intervals of joy wanted the smiles that grief had sequestred, yet she never opened it, but like the East at the birth of a beautiful day, and then discovered Treasures, whose excelling whiteness made the price inestimable; all the features of her face had so neer a kindred of proportion and symetry, as the severest Master of *Appelles* Art might have called it his glory to have copied beauties from her, as the best of Models. The circumference of her usage, shewed the extremes of an imperfect Circle, and almost formed it to a perfect Oval, and this abridgment of marvels was taper'd by a pair of the brightest stars that ever were lighted up by the hand of Nature: as their lustre might justly claim the title of Celestial, so their colour was the same with Heavens, there was a spherical harmony in their motion, and that mingled with a vivacity so penetrating as neither firmest eye, nor the strongest soul could arm themselves with a resistance of proof against those pointed glories, their very languishing dejection darted more charms through the clouds of griefs, that darkned their brightest glory, than all the others could boast in their clearest Sunshine; nor were they ever so dim'd with woe, but they had still vigour enough left to open themselves a passage to hearts defended with the greatest insensibility; her head was crowned with a prodigious quantity of fair long hair, whereof the colour as fitly suited the beauty of her eyes, as imagination could make it. To these marvels of face were joyned the rest of her neck, hands, and shape, and there seemed a contest betwixt the form and whiteness of the two former,

[1] Evidently a typographical error for *shame;* cf. the French "la honte qu'elle," etc. The error crept in through the following contracted participle, "surpriz'd."

which had the larger commission from Nature to work wonders; and if she were not so tall of stature as *Candace*, in revenge of that she was far more slender, and her face much less than the fair Queen of *Aethiopia's*. In fine her beauty was miraculous.

From the passage just quoted it is evident that the sentences are very long. The sentences and paragraphs are so long in the French as to make a page forbidding work to the modern reader who is accustomed to the frequent help of paragraph divisions. This is only partly a matter of structure. It is largely a matter of punctuation. Take, for instance, the first sentence of this passage and repunctuate it without any other change.[1]

Our former description of Candace's beauty dispenses with a farther recital. But we should deal unjustly with the fair unknown should we hide them in silence in whom the Queen found many delicacies that had a far better title to her wonder than the Praetor's relation could challenge. The new faln snow was tanned in comparison of the refined purity of that white that was the ground of her complexion. And if sorrow had gathered the carnations of her cheeks, shame to see herself surpriz'd half naked, though by persons of her own sex, had replanted of hers there with such fresh advantages as any weaker eye than Candace's would have shrunk at the brightness of that mingled lustre. Her mouth as well for shape as Complexion shamed the imitation of the best Pensils and the liveliest colours. And though some petty intervals of joy wanted the smiles that grief had sequestered; yet she never opened it but like the East at the birth of a beautiful day, and then discovered Treasures whose excelling whiteness made the price inestimable. All the features of her face had so near a kind of proportion and symmetry as the severest Master of Appelles Art might have called it his glory to have copied beauties from her as the best of Models, etc.

In the description of battles and single combats the action is often rapid and the sentences short.

Balance is as frequent as in *Cassandra*.

[1] In the French the whole description is punctuated as one sentence down to "In fine."

Cleopatra, Vol. II, p. 380

O ye Gods, cried I, is it possible that *Tullia*, the object of my adorations, should be reduced to those extremities for a person's sake who is not in the least sensible of her sufferings? and that he who, is ready to die for her dares not hope for any part of that which another so ungratefully disdains! O *Tullia* what cruel Destiny reigns over thee, that thou must love him that shuns thee, and art so insensible of his devotions that dies for thee! O *Ptolomey*, is there any necessity that thou shouldst be possessor of a Good thou dost contemn, and that thy unfortunate Friend should derive from that Good, which thou deprivest him of without the least enjoyment to thyself, all his hopes and all the happiness of his life! O *Lentulus*, must thou needs fall in love with *Tullia*, whose soul is insusceptible of all impressions other then what it hath received for *Ptolomey* or shouldst thou hate *Ptolomey*, who, though not chargeable with any such designs will prove the occasion of all thy unhappiness.

The style is highly figurative. Almost any page will furnish a passage like the following:

Cleopatra, Vol. I, p. 78

But Oh! what a number of bitter plaints and hollow sighs did that sad remembrance tear from his mouth and heart: and how fitly did the blacks of the night suit with the mourning which his soul had put on: to him the darkest shades were far more welcome and agreeable than the brightest beams that could spring from the active treasury of Light, and not well enduring the day, ever since the eclipse of those fair hopes that enlightened his soul, he found some comfort in an obscurity conform'd to that of his spirit that helpt him to wrap it in a dull cloud of heavy thoughts; and thus having quitted the care of himself, the day appear'd, before the repose of his body could give an hours calm to the storms of his mind. He no sooner spy'd the new-born light shoot itself through the windows of his Chamber, when saluting it with some sighs, "How importunate is this bright intruder! (cry'd he) how sensibly dost thou aggravate the vexations of a wretch, which should be intomb'd in an eternal night?"

The conventional kinds of pathetic fallacy common to the pastoral romance are present, although not in abundance. If the heroine falls into the ocean the waves are proud of the privilege of courting and kissing the fairest lady that Nature ever framed (*Cleopatra*, Vol. I, p. 2). The wind amorously sports with her hair (*Cleopatra*, Vol. I, p. 319; IV. Partie de *Cléopâtre*, Liv. III, p. 430) and freely kisses her celestial countenance (*Cleopatra*, Vol. I, p. 359; IV. Partie de *Cléopâtre*, Liv. IV, p. 774), and the earth which sustains her beautiful body seems to produce new grass to receive her the more agreeably (*Cleopatra*, Vol. I, p. 319; IV. Partie de *Cléopâtre*, Liv. III, p. 429).

Generally the figures are well sustained but it is not difficult to find passages where the figures shift with kaleidoscopic rapidity, as in the following passage:[1]

Ingratitude and Cruelty are the blackest of all vices, and so soon as the Soul of a Prince has once taken their indelible stains, all that he had before of great and good is put to flight by that strong poison which entirely seizes his inclinations and scarce leaves him any shade or trace of vertue. The former is oft the Child of that Pride which is the tumour of prosperity; and if the latter does not rise from a root in our nature, it often springs from the womb of an irregular ambition, which usurping the throne of the will excites all thoughts that are the legitimate race of Reason, and shuts the eyes of those that are possessed with this Devil, upon every consideration that Piety, Justice and Honour itself can represent to their intoxicated judgment.

[1] *Cleopatra*, Vol. I, p. 214; III. Partie de *Cléopâtre*, Liv. III, p. 375: "L'Ingratitude & la cruauté sont les plus noir de tous les vices, & des que l'ame d'un Prince est taché, tout ce qu'elle avait de bon & de grãd se dissipe par ce venin qui la corrõpt, toute entiere, & qui luy laisse à peine quelque ombre & quelque trace de vertu. La premier de ces deux vices n'aist souvent de l'orgueil que nos prospẽrité nous inspirent; & le dernier s'il ne vient du naturel, tire souvent son origine d'une ambition des reglée, qui s'emparãt d'un esprit, en banit tous les sentimens raisonnables, & ferme les yeux de ceux qui en sont prevenus a toutes les cosiderations que la pieté, la justice, & l'honneur mesme leur peuvẽ trepresenter.

Loveday has, according to his usual practice, heightened the figures; and added some new touches that, in places, render the passage absurd.

At times the imagery borders on the grotesque, as in the following: " . . . . whose memory I ought to embalm with tears refined from my purest blood" (*Cleopatra*, Vol. I, p. 167; iii chap. Liv. I, p. 31, " . . . . de qui je devrois deplorer la perte avec des larmes tirees du plus pur & de plus precieux de mon sang . . . ."). Much of the grotesque in the translation is not found in the French. This is especially true where it consists in the turn of a single word as in the use of the word *embalm* above, or in such passages as "he vomited his first resentment" (Vol. I, p. 163) for, "il exprima ses premiers resẽtimẽs" (III, 1.2).

The most characteristic features of the style of the heroic romances are circumlocution and exaggeration. La Calprenède's romances are no exception. The heroines rarely open their bright eyes to receive the light that they do not open them to let out tears; but they never merely weep. They break forth into rivulets, brooks, and rivers of tears. Elisa (Liv. II, p. 495) feels a torrent of tears ready to force their passage to make an inundation of her countenance. This does not follow the French closely (cf. XII. Partie de *Cléopâtre* Liv. II, p. 227, "sentant que les larmes forçoient ses paupieres pour sortir avec violence"). Cleopatra (Div. II, p. 354) is moved to so much compassion that a beautiful dew begins to break forth at her eyes. Candace is so sensibly touched by Tyridates' narration that she suffers compassion to steal some liquid pearls from her eyes. No modern writer would seriously introduce a speech as does Coriolanus (p. 93): "Madam," said he, "if I may be permitted without offending the veneration I owe you, to undisguise a part of my sentiments, I must take the liberty to pay," etc. (cf.

chap.ii, Liv. I, p. 128: "S'il m'est permis Madame," luy dit-il, "sans offencer le respect que je vous dois de declarer devant vous une partie de mes sentiments, je prendray la liberté de vous dire").

Everything is built to heroic proportions; almost any page will furnish numerous examples of exaggeration. The passages already cited are full of it. The heroes are all more than gods, and goddesses pale before the scintillating beauty of the heroines. Cleopatra, describing Antonia, says, "and though Heaven hath bestowed on her a Beauty of the first magnitude among those terrestrial constellations, whose influence the earth adores and is guided by, yet is this Beauty of her person much below that of her mind." Heroes and heroines alike flood rivers with their tears and warm the wind with their sighs. The level is uniformly elevated.

THE SOURCES OF THE STYLE

The limits of our treatment do not admit a full discussion of the historical development of the methods of conducting the plot, or of the development of the style of the heroic romances; but a few of the main lines of growth may be pointed out.[1]

Of the historians Curtius influenced La Calprenède's style the most strongly. In numerous places La Calprenède has translated Curtius literally, and the style of the historian slips almost insensibly into that of La Calprenède. The speech of Darius to his soldiers as they are about to encounter the forces of Alexander is translated in detail, nearly a thousand words. The last few sentences will illustrate the closeness of the translation.

[1] Cf. Professor Crane's introduction to his edition of *Les héros de roman* for an excellent account of the development of the heroic romance.

Cassandra, p. 70

I pray you by your household god, by the eternal Fire we carry upon our Altar, by the light of the Sun, which rises within the limits of my Empire, and by the memory of Cyrus, who added that of the Medes and Lydians to it, that you would save both the name and Nation of the Persians, from its utter ruine, and from its utter infamy, and leave that glory to your posterity which you received so entire from your Ancestors. You carry in your own hands, your goods, your lives, your liberties, and your future hopes and in your faces a most assured victory, I read it in your eyes, and in your march; he that despises death, avoids it best, and it soonest catches the fearful that flie from it; Let's on therefore (fellow souldiers) whither so many considerations call us; I see the Enemies Army move, go and receive them courageously, or rather follow me, for I refuse not to lead you on and to be your example either of valour or cowardise.

Curtius, Book IV, chap. xiv[1]

Precor vos per Deos patrios, aeternumque ignem, qui prae fertur altaribus, fulgoremque soliis intra fines regni mei orientis, per aeternam memoriam Cyri, qui ademptum Medis Lydisque imperium primus in Persidem intulit, vindicate ab ultimo dedecore nomen gentumque Persarum. Ite alacres & spe pleni, ut quam gloriam accepistes a majoribus vestris, posteris relinquatis. In dextris vestris jam libertatem, opem, spem futuri temporis geritis. Effugit mortem, quisquis contempserit: timidissimum quemque consequitur. Ipse, non patrio more solum, sed etiam ut conspicii possim, curru vehor. Nec recuso, quo minus imitemini me, sive fortitudinis exemplum, sive ignavire, fuero.

La Calprenède's account continues in a style so similar that one reluctantly accepts his originality:

[1] 1660 ed. Crowne used this speech in his play, *Darius* (Act I, p. 12 of the first ed., 1688). A comparison of the three texts convinced me that, here as in other parts of the play where the wording was almost identical with that of La Calprenède, Crowne had depended on Curtius rather than on La Calprenède.

The King spake these words with a great deal of vehemence, and the soldiers answered them with a shout, that pierced the very clouds, from which he drew a good omen of the Victory. But the two Armies being so near, that they were upon the point of joining battle, all the Commanders ran to their charges, and my Master parting from the King who gave him his last embrace. "Sir (said he) I will either die generously to day, or restore unto your Majesty some parts of what you have lost." "Go Son (said the King) may the Gods take as great care of thy safety, as of mine own, and be so gracious, that I may see you again with much joy, as I part from you with sorrow."

In the Greek romances, as in *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra*, oracles and dreams are used to further the plot development, and to a limited extent histories are introduced as a narrative device. Here we also find letters, and discourses on various topics. Tatius especially delighted in these discourses. The following on the comparative merits of masculine and feminine beauty is typical:[1]

"There can be no doubt," said Menelaus, "which is preferable. Youths are much more open and free from affectation than women, and their beauty stimulates the senses much more powerfully."

"How so?" I asked, "it no sooner appears than it is gone. It affords no enjoyment to the lover, but is like the cup of Tantalus, while one is drinking the liquid disappears; and even the little which has been swallowed is unsatisfying. No one can have such favorites without feeling his pleasure alloyed with pain. The draught of love still leaves him thirsty."

"You do not understand," rejoined Menelaus, "that the perfection of pleasure consists in its bringing with it no satiety; the very fact of its being of a permanent and satisfying kind takes away from its delight. What we snatch but now and then is always new, and always in full beauty. Of such things the pleasure is not liable to decay and age, and it gains in intensity what it loses by briefness of duration."

[1] Bohn ed., p. 396.

Frequently the author stops to philosophize on such subjects as anger and desire:

These passions are like two fires in the soul; they differ in nature, but resemble each other in intensity; the former urges to hatred, the latter to love; the sources also of their respective flames are near to one another, anger having its seat in the heart, the liver being the abode of love [and so on, through another page].

In the story of Daphnis and Chloe we find many descriptions of Nature. Thus spring is described:[1]

It was the beginning of spring, the flowers were in bloom throughout the woods, the meadows, and the mountains; there were the buzzings of the bee, the warblings of the songsters, the frolics of the lambs. The young of the flock were skipping on the mountains, the bees flew humming through the meadows, and the songs of the birds resounded through the bushes. Seeing all things pervaded with such unusual joy, they, young and susceptible as they were, imitated whatever they saw or heard. Hearing the carol of the birds they sang; seeing the sportive skipping of the lambs, they danced; and in imitation of the bees they gathered flowers.[2]

Here balance and cumulative repetition are carried beyond anything in La Calprenède. In style as in other respects Tatius influenced La Calprenède the most strongly of the Greek romance writers. This description of a grove (p. 367) is much in the style of La Calprenède:

It consisted of a grove, which afforded a delightful object to the eyes; around it ran a wall, each of the four sides of which had a colonnade supported upon pillars, the central space being planted with trees, whose branches were so closely interwoven, that the fruits and foliage intermingled in friendly union. Close to some of the larger trees grew ivy and the convolvulus; the latter hanging from the plane-tree, clustered round it, with its delicate foliage; the former twining round the pine, lovingly embraced its trunk, so that the tree became the prop of the ivy and the ivy furnished a crown for the tree.

[1] P. 268, Bohn ed.

[2] Autumn is described, p. 285; an arbor, p. 308; a garden, p. 326.

His descriptions of women are not unlike those of La Calprenède. The heroine is described as follows (p. 354):

Her sparkling eyes had a pleasing expression, her hair was golden hued, short and curling, her eyebrows were jet black, her cheeks were fair, save that in the middle they had a tinge bordering upon purple, like that with which the Lydian women stain their ivory; her mouth was like the rose when it begins to bud.[1]

And as with La Calprenède's heroines she is most beautiful when in tears p. 464):

Upon hearing his voice, Leucippe burst into tears, and appeared even more charming than before, for tears give permanency and increased expression to the eyes, either rendering them more disagreeable, or improving them if pleasing; for in that case the dark iris, fading into lighter hue, resembles, when moistened with tears, the head of a gently bubbling fount; the white and black growing in brilliancy from the moisture which floats over the surface, assume the mingled shades of the violet and narcissus, and the eye appears as smiling through the tears which are confined within its lids.[2]

The influence of Mlle Scudéry has been noted in the course of the analysis of the style of *Cleopatra*. Further indications of her influence are to be found in the introduction of verses and of discourses on such topics as Prudence, Modesty, Reservedness, Severity, Favors, the Art of Poetry, and the like. This loitering in conversation for its own sake, the emphasizing of social graces, and the embroidering of the story by dainty devices are essentially of the Scudéry school. La Calprenède has introduced these features partly in recognition of their vogue—he knew they would delight the reader trained in threading the mazes of the Land of Tender—and partly because they lent themselves readily to a story fought out in the drawing-rooms rather than on the field of battle.

[1] Cf. also the description of the picture of Europa with which the romance opens.

[2] Cf. *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 35, 130; Part II, pp. 181, 354, 356, 495, 530, etc.

There are combats and battle enough to be sure in the *Cleopatra*, but these are merely the frills of the story; the outcome is determined by the king who pardons the hero and assigns the rewards.

THE POPULARITY OF THE HEROIC ROMANCE

In a curious volume entitled *Remarks upon Remarques: Or, A Vindication of the Conversations of the Town*, published in London, 1673, the author comments on the "mixture of Tongues with the French" in England:

> And it's true, that in this last Age, wherein our Nation has outdone all others in the superstructures of true Science, several terms of Art have mixed with our ordinary discourses, which by reason of their easiness to intelligence, can hardly be avoided.
>
> And it's remarkable, that what words soever our Nation has adopted, they are most significant of the things they express, and so occasion a succinct and comprehensive stile in our Conversation and Writing.

After his invectives against French, he kindly says:

> That Language is highly necessary to all that frequent Courts, and that have to do in the important affairs of the World. This startled me, when he says, French Tongue is necessary to Courtiers, and those concerned in important affairs, and yet not to you; whom he designed and advised to be a Hero.

Nor was the knowledge of French confined to courtiers and heroes. Nearly everyone who professed an education included French among his accomplishments. Many textbooks of French were published, and numerous teachers assisted in disseminating knowledge of this popular tongue.[1] Thus it happened that French literature was almost as well known among the upper classes as the native literature itself. However, although the knowledge of French was considered the necessary part of the education of a young

[1] Cf. Charlanne, *Influence française en Angleterre au XVIIe siècle*, Part I, chap. iii.

girl in England, not everyone could read the language with any great ease. Thus it fell about that England was flooded with translations of French plays and romances.[1] Howard in *The Womans Conquest* writes (1671):

> some Poets have arrived to a Convenient reputation yet play'd the Thieves,
> From Poems Histories and Romances,

and (in Act I, scene i, p. 12) we learn

> I have drest up mine out of Story and the
> Grand Romances of our Times from whence I have
> Drawn some noble examples of Love and Constancy.

And by 1695 Motteux was able to write with truthfulness (Preface to *Love's a Jest*):

> I would borrow from my own countrymen, but Molière and most of em have been so gleaned that there's scarse anything left.

La Calprenède's romances were translated into English soon after their appearance in French. The first volumes of *Cleopatra* appeared in English before the last volumes were completed by the author, and both romances were widely circulated.

Cassandre was begun in 1642 and finished in 1650.[2] According to Jusserand[3] it was first published in English in 1652;[4] according to Graesse again in 1661; in 1676 appeared the translation by Cotterell in folio; in 1703 a translation by several hands; and in 1725 a reprint of

[1] In the preface to *Lisander and Calista*, 1627, we are told: "This French Knight and his Lady being importuned, contrary to their design, and the fashion of this time (which is almost all French) to appeare to publicke view in this their English habit," etc.

[2] 1642-50 are the dates generally assigned; and Cotterell in the preface to the Reader speaks of it as a ten years' story, but Grierson gives 1645.

[3] P. 364, *The Novel in the Time of Shakespeare.*

[4] Cf. also Charlanne, Part II, chap. vi, who describes this early translation of the first three parts as a very ordinary one.

Cotterell's 1676 edition. Cotterell in a prefatory address to the Reader in the 1676 edition wrote that, "Since this Translation of Cassandra was put into the Press, the beginning of another by an accurate pen hath been published to the World," but I can find no trace of another translation later than that of 1661 to which this might refer. The reference is in all probabilities to the translation of 1652.

Cléopâtre was begun in 1647 and finished in 1658. The first part was translated by Robert Loveday in 1652 under the title of *Hymens Praeludia; or Loves Master-piece; being the first part of that so much admir'd Romance entituled Cleopatra.* The second part was translated by Loveday, 1653; the third by Loveday, 1655; the seventh by J(ohn) C(oles), 1658; the eighth by J(ames) W(ebb), 1658; and the ninth to twelfth, inclusive, by J. Davies.[1] The complete translation appeared in folio in 1665, a compilation of the translation just named, to which was added the translation of the fourth to sixth parts inclusive by Loveday. In 1674 appeared in folio, two volumes bound in one but paged separately, a translation by Robert Loveday.[2]

The British Museum Catalogue lists the following editions:

Cassandre: 1642, 1660, 1666; translations into English: 1676 (by C. Cotterell); 1703 (by several hands); 1725 (by Cotterell).

Cléopâtre: 1647; translations: *Cleopatra:* 1652, the first part (by R. Loveday); 1654 (the second part); 1655 (the third part); 1658 (the seventh part Englished by J C[oles]); 1658 (the eighth part by J W[ebb]); 1665 (folio); 1674 (folio).[3]

[1] Cf. Charlanne, pp. 391-92.

[2] This is the translation used in this discussion; all page references are to this edition unless otherwise stated.

[3] Translations of other romances that might be mentioned are Gombauld's *Endymion* (1639); Camus' *Iphigenes* (1652); Desmarts's *Ariana*

The women especially were infatuated with the heroic romances. Pepys' wife was a great reader of the romances and bores him constantly by relating parts of them, "though nothing to the purpose nor in any good manner." On November 16, 1668, however, he brought home from Martin, his bookseller's, a copy of *Cassandra*, and with this he was better pleased; he tells us on May 7, 1669,

> Thence to my wife, and she read to me the epistle of *Cassandra*, which is very good indeed; and the better to her, because recommended by Sheres.[1]

Dorothy Osborne[2] similarly tried to encourage Sir William Temple to read La Calprenède:

> Have you read *Cleopatra?* I have six tomes of it here that I can lend you if you have not. There are some stories in it that you will like I believe;

and in her next letter:

> Since you are at leisure to consider the moon, you may be enough to read *Cleopatra*. Therefore I have sent you three tomes. There is a story of Artemise that I will recommend to you; his disposition I like extremely. It has a great deal of gratitude in it, and if you meet with Britomart, pray send me word how you like him;

and soon in another letter:

> I have sent you the rest of *Cleopatra*. You will meet with a story in these parts of *Cleopatra* that pleased me more than any I ever read in my life. 'Tis of one Delie; pray give me your opinion of her and her prince.

Lady Lurewell in Farquhar's *The Constant Couple* (1700, Act III, last scene) says:

(1636, 1641); Gomberville's *Polexander* (1647); Scudéry's *Ibrahim* (1652), *Grand Cyrus* (1653-55), *Clelia* (1656-61, 1678), *Almahide* (1677); Vaumoriere's *The Grand Scipio* (1660).

[1] Cf. also II, 184; II, 109; II, 91, etc. (Braybrooke ed.).

[2] In a letter written probably in 1653 or 1654. Cf. *The Life of Sir William Temple* by Thomas P. Courtenay, Vol. II, p. 288.

After supper I went to my chamber and read *Cassandra*, then went to bed and dreamt of it all night, rose in the morning and made verses.[1]

Many were the verses and letters inspired by the heroic romances, and conversation was greatly refined. Dryden in the epilogue to the *Conquest of Granada* remarks that,

> Wit's now ariv'd to a more high degree;
> Our native Language more refin'd and free.
> Our Ladies and our men now speak more wit
> In conversation, than those poets writ.[2]

Pordage, in the Epistle Dedicatory to *The Siege of Babylon*, wrote:

Wit is refined, and Ingenuity made bright, not only by the Industry of Poets, and endeavours of the Learned, but by the example, of the Court, and encouragement of Princes, who diffuse it like Light to all that know them; among whom your Royal Highness, as a Star of the first Magnitude, shines, with the splendor of your Mind, and enlightens the Souls of others.[3]

The influence of the court, where the refinements of the Hotel de Rambouillet[4] were practiced, was supported by books on manners and conversation[5] some of which were

[1] Leonora (*Spectator*, April 12, 1711) includes in her library "Cassandra, Cleopatra, Astraea, The Grand Cyrus: with a pin stuck in one of the middle leaves."

[2] Cf. also his Defense of the Epilogue appended to the *Conquest of Granada*, p. 172.

[3] Cf. also Genest, I, 427, where the Earl of Orrery is quoted as writing to a friend, "I have now finished a play in a French manner because I heard the King declare himself more in favour of their way of writing than ours."

Camus in the Dedicatory Preface to *Iphigenes* (translated into English by Major Wright in 1652) addresses the Rt. Honorable James Earle of Northampton: "Neither is wanting Valour accompanied with Honour which have been the marks and are now the known favorites of your virtuous inclinations."

[4] Cf. Cousin's *La société française au XVIIe siècle, d'après le Grand Cyrus de Mlle de Scudéry.*

[5] Edward Phillips, *The Beaus Academy; or the modern and genteel way of wooing and complimenting, after the most courtly manner in which is drawn to life the deportment of the most accomplished lovers*, etc.

drawn directly from the heroic romances.[1] Doubtless it might have been said of many a lady as in Kingsmyll's *Gallantry-a-la-Mode* (p. 41):

> Did you affect the air of France
> Strait her discourse was all Romance.

Numerous are the letters in heroic style. Nearly all the dedicatory letters prefaced to heroic plays were in the elevated style. Lee's letter to the Duchess of Portsmouth prefaced to *Sophonisba* is sufficiently typical:

> But above all, I must pay my adorations to your Grace, who as you are the most Beautiful, as well in the bright appearances of Body, as in the immortal splendours of an elevated Soul, did shed mightier influence and darted on me a largess of glory answerable to your stock of Beams, etc.

Love correspondences were carried on under assumed names in heroic style. Here is a specimen chosen from a volume of *Miscellaneous Letters and Essays* edited by Charles Gildon in 1694 (p. 122):

To Acme, before I had seen her.

> I ought not in Prudence (Madam) to let you know the unreasonable extent of your charms, for fear it destroy the Happiness I am at in your *Pitty;* Cruelty and Pride being generally the effect of so *Unlimited* a Power. Yet, since you cannot pity, without knowing the Sufferer, I must inform you, Divine Maid, that I have increas'd the number of your Slaves, without so much as the pleasure of seeing you for all the Sighs you have cost me.
>
> Love indeed is an Off'ring that ought to be laid on the soft Altars of Beauty; But, Madam, sure never was by any, but my self, on that of an *Unknown Deity*. We keep the *Bleeding Victims* of our Hearts, as long as we can, and only yield 'em up to the *Irresistible* Force of the *present Fair One*.
>
> This, Madam, is the common condition of Lovers; but as my passion has an extraordinary Object in you, so have your Beauties

[1] Cf. Crane, *Les héros de roman*, Introd., p. 113.

an uncommom Influence on me: for Charm'd by I know not what *Divine Witchery*, I Sacrifice my poor Heart to your very Name, without putting you to the expence of one killing Look, to oblige me to't; Report has often engag'd the *Curiosity*, but never till now won the *Affections*.

The first mention of you inspir'd me with all the tender thoughts of Love; and being obliged to personate the Lover in Print, I had Recourse to the *Divine Idea*, I had formed of you, Madam, to qualifie me for it; you were the only *Heavenly Muse* that I invok'd, which abundantly furnished me with all the Transporting Raptures of Love. But alas! Madame, while I too much gave way to Imagination, it carry'd me to a View of those Joys, none but you can impart, at lest too charming fair one, so much justice is due to the most uncommon of *Lovers*, as to permit him the Blessing of your Conversion.

Ah! Madam, excel the rest of your Sex in Perfections of Mind, as much as you do in those of Body, and let not *Pride* and *Cruelty* level you with 'em; like a lawful Prince maintain the Glory of your Empire, by the happiness of your vassals, and be not like a Tyrant, proud of their Destruction, at least permit the address of the greatest of

Slaves,

SEPTIMUS

[*To be continued*]

L Soc 4698.10

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA BULLETIN

VOL. V JANUARY 1, 1911 No. 1

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME III, NUMBER 1
1911

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

NOTE.—The University of Nevada publications are offered in exchange for certain periodicals and for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities, and libraries. For sample copies address the University Library, Reno, Nevada.

Entered in the Post-Office at Reno, Nevada, as second-class matter, under Act of Congress, July 16, 1894

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME III, NUMBER 1
1911

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

The University.

The articles that appear in the University of Nevada Studies are contributed principally by the instructors in the University of Nevada, but contributions from other sources are not excluded.

James Edward Church, Jr.,
Carl Alfred Jacobsen,
Herbert Wynford Hill,
Committee on Publications

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

CONTENTS

The Identity of the Child in Virgil's *Pollio:* an Afterword 1

By J. E. Church, Jr.

Sex-Prophesying among the Ancients: Its Basis . 16

By J. E. Church, Jr.

Note

The Identity of the Mother in Martial vi, 3 . . 28

By J. E. Church Jr., and J. C. Watson

THE IDENTITY OF THE CHILD IN VIRGIL'S *POLLIO:* AN AFTERWORD[1]

By J. E. Church, Jr.

Under the title *The Identity of the Child in Virgil's Pollio,* which appeared in a recent number of the *University of Nevada Studies* (I, No. 2), the writer presented evidence to show that the Romans did not consider it contrary to their canon of taste to "prophesy" the sex of an unborn child.

Additional evidence, since gathered, not only supports the conclusion then reached but even indicates a deeply rooted tendency on the part of the Romans to discuss things prenatal.

The more important part of this evidence is furnished by Valerius Flaccus. In his *Argonautica,* Jason, while on his voyage to Colchis, tarries at Lemnos in wedlock with Hypsipyle, the youthful queen of a female people. The narrative in large essentials agrees with that of Apollonius Rhodius. But in the scene of parting, Valerius, inspired evidently by the narrative of Apollonius, has deviated from his model so radically as to indicate a complete divergence of feeling.

This scene and the variations in its presentation can be indicated best by quoting from the authors themselves. Reference is made by both to an unborn child, but here the similarity ends.

[1] Through the kindness of Professor Shorey, this paper has been reprinted, with some additions, from *Classical Philology,* January, 1911, pp. 78–84, in order to introduce the supplementary paper that follows and to assemble in the *Studies* the complete series of papers published by the author on the identity of the child in Virgil's *Pollio.*

The narrative of Apollonius is naturally Greek in spirit, but the manner of reference to the possible sex of the child is also modern:

Argonaut. A, 886–909—

ὣς δὲ καὶ Ὑψιπύλη ἠρήσατο χεῖρας ἑλοῦσα
Αἰσονίδεω, τὰ δέ οἱ ῥέε δάκρυα χήτει ἰόντος·
. . . . . .
'μνώεο μὴν ἀπεών περ ὁμῶς καὶ νόστιμος ἤδη
Ὑψιπύλης· λίπε δ' ἡμιν ἔπος, τό κεν ἐξανύσαιμι
πρόφρων, ἤν ἄρα δή με θεοὶ δώωσι τεκέσθαι.'
Τὴν δ' αὖτ' Αἴσονος υἱὸς ἀγαιόμενος προσέειπεν·
'Ὑψιπύλη, τὰ μὲν οὔτω ἐναίσιμα πάντα γένοιτο
ἐκ μακάρων· τύνη δ' ἐμέθεν πέρι θυμὸν ἀρείω
ἴσχαν', ἐπεὶ πάτρην μοι ἅλις Πελίαο ἔκητι
ναιετάειν· μοῦνόν με θεοὶ λύσειαν ἀέθλων.
εἰ δ' οὔ μοι πέπρωται ἐς Ἑλλάδα γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι
τηλοῦ ἀναπλώοντι, σὺ δ' ἄρσενα παῖδα τέκηαι,
πέμπε μιν ἡβήσαντα Πελασγίδος ἔνδον Ἰωλκοῦ
πατρί τ' ἐμῷ καὶ μητρὶ δύης ἄκος, ἤν ἄρα τούσγε
τέτμῃ ἔτι ζώοντας, ἵν' ἄνδιχα τοῖο ἄνακτος
σφοῖσιν πορσύνωνται ἐφέστιοι ἐν μεγάροισιν.'

Delicacy of statement on the part of Hypsipyle regarding the possible birth of a child (898) and Jason's preference for a son (904 ff.) are the features of the passage.

However, in the version of Valerius the sex of the unborn child is assumed despite the natural uncertainty that pervades the narrative of Apollonius; for the Roman author represents Hypsipyle as pleading for the return of Jason in behalf of their unborn son, a second Jason:

Argonaut. ii, 422–25—

'I, memor, i, terrae, quae vos amplexa quieto
prima sinu; refer et domitis a Colchidos oris
vela per hunc utero quem linquis Iasona nostro.'
Sic ait, Haemonii labens in colla mariti.

Since Valerius was a contemporary of Martial, the latter is thereby cleared of the charge that he was "audax omnia perpeti" in writing his epigram to Domitian on an expected royal heir,[1] for Valerius would scarcely have employed sex-prophesying even in a mythological poem if general sentiment had been strongly opposed to such usage. Certainly no affront on the part of Martial was intended and it is probable that none was felt by Domitian.

Further evidence is furnished by Ovid, a contemporary, approximately, of Virgil himself. In the *Aeneid* (iv, 327–30) Virgil represents Dido as childless and regretful that she has borne no little Aeneas to recall his father's visage. But in the *Heroides* Ovid raises the story of the desertion of Dido to higher pathos by representing Dido as appealing to Aeneas to remain in behalf of her possible motherhood and the little unborn brother of Iulus:

vii, Dido Aeneae, 133–38—

> Forsitan et gravidam Didon, scelerate, relinquas,
> parsque tui lateat corpore clausa meo.
> Accedet fatis matris miserabilis infans
> et nondum nati funeris auctor eris,
> cumque parente sua frater morietur Iuli,
> poenaque conexos auferet una duos. . . . .

The sentiment of her plea resembles that of Hypsipyle's parting injunction to Jason as portrayed by Valerius.

The word *forsitan* (133) applies only to Dido's motherhood. Regarding the sex of the child, if born, no doubt whatever (135–38) is expressed by the poet.

In all of the evidence found thus far, a son, not a daughter, was the subject of prophecy. Does this mean that only sons were prophesied or that in the literary evidence extant only males and not females would suit the

[1] The fate of this child and the identity of its mother are discussed in the note on Martial vi, 3 at the end of this volume.

dramatic requirements in each instance? In the poems saluting royal heirs, such as the *Pollio* and Martial's epigram, only male children could satisfy the political requirements; and in lyric as well as in epic poetry the human tendency to favor the male rather than the female would be strongly manifested.[1] But if we may draw an analogy from modern usage, despite the leading place that the male child held in the esteem of Roman parents—

> Est tibi sitque, precor, natus, qui mollibus annis
> in patrias artes erudiendus erat[2]—

the hope that the unborn babe might be a girl to refine the ruggedness of the boys must have found utterance in many a household. Yet such utterance would rarely find a place in verse.[3] Since, therefore, the exigencies of the situation

[1] For this reason it is safe to assume that the word *quartum* employed in the epitaph by Trebius Basileus to his deceased wife (quoted in the original paper) is a substantive rather than an adverb and in gender masculine, not common, and refers to a fourth son rather than to a fourth child. This view is still further confirmed by Apuleius' treatment of the *Cupid and Psyche* myth (see pp. 7 f.).

[2] *Heroides* i, Penelope Ulixi, 111–12.

[3] The father's love for his daughter and his ambition to possess a son to perpetuate his name appear side by side in the following epitaph. The widow addresses the dead, and the dead replies.
Bücheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* 92—

> vss. 4 ff. Moschis tua te salutat et D[iodorus tuus
> et blanda dulcis pupa, delic[ium tuum,
> et quem tu tuis manibus nu[per sustuleras puer.
> . . . . . .
> 'Haue casta coniunx et m[ei serva memoriam,
> haue mi Diodore amice fra[terque et parens,
> . . . . . .
> haue pupa blanda, anima m[ea, tuque haue puer
> quem nuper pararam ut hab[erem heredem nominis.'

Pride in the birth of girls as well as of boys is displayed in a poem of Statius to Julius Menecrates (*Silvae* iv, 8), in which the poet offers hearty congratulations on the birth of a third child, a daughter.

The value of sons and of daughters, and the beauty of their companionship, are set forth in delicate compliment:

> vss. 25 ff. Macte, quod et proles tibi saepius aucta virili
> robore; se iuveni laetam dat virgo parenti.
> Aptior his virtus, citius dabit illa nepotes.
> Qualis maternis Helene iam digna palaestris
> inter Amyclaeos reptabat candida fratres,
> vel qualis caeli facies, ubi nocte serena
> admovere iubar mediae duo sidera lunae.

—literary or political or personal—caused the writer to prophesy the male sex in every instance recorded, this so-called prophesying was practically a stereotyped form, void of all the hazard associated with the genuine act.

That, however, Valerius did not prophesy twins in accordance with the variant tradition adopted by Ovid (*Heroides* vi, Hypsipyle Iasoni, 119 ff.) and by Statius (*Thebaid* v, 608, 712 ff.) possibly shows the bounds which the poet might not overstep without exposing himself to the charge of lacking a sense of humor even by his fellow Romans. To prophesy one male child was evidently permissible, but to predict the unusual twins would invite derision.

Valerius may, however, have preferred the older tradition of one son, as may also Apollonius, irrespective of the constraint imposed by the nature of his narrative. Be this as it may, Ovid chose the variant tradition of twin offspring, but he postponed until after the birth the announcement of its dual nature with evident heightening of the power of Hypsipyle's appeal and increase in the dramatic effectiveness of the poem. Whether he was primarily constrained to abandon his previous method of prophesying the nature of the offspring by his sense of its absurdity or by his innate feeling for dramatic adaptation is uncertain.

Hypsipyle's appeal is represented as being made after news has reached her of Jason's safe return to Thessaly and evident abandonment of herself. She recalls the scene of their parting at Lemnos and of his promise to her. In this parting scene he, not she, refers to the coming offspring, but his thought is couched in general terms:

Heroides vi, Hypsipyle Iasoni, 60–62—

'Vir tuus hinc abeo, vir tibi semper ero;
quod tamen e nobis gravida celatur in alvo,
vivat, et eiusdem simus uterque parens!'

The great good fortune of bearing twins is reserved for the mother to offer Jason as additional dower to regain his favor:

vss. 119–22—

> Nunc etiam peperi: gratare ambobus, Iason!
> Dulce mihi gravidae fecerat auctor onus.
> Felix in numero quoque sum prolemque gemellam
> pignora Lucina bina favente dedi.

And for her rival, Medea, Hypsipyle also wishes sons—as many as she herself has borne—that Medea's woe, which she now pronounces against her, may resemble her own:

vss. 155–56—

> utque ego destituor coniunx materque duorum,
> a totidem natis orba sit illa viro.

The attainment of this climax may have allured Ovid to choose the tradition which he has handled so skilfully. In the pseudo-prophecy of two sons for Medea—the traditional number—appears again the easy attitude of the Romans toward the prediction of future offspring.

From the above evidence and that presented in the original paper is derived the second fact, which bears upon the date of the publication of the *Pollio*, viz., that the leading authors of Rome freely wrote of unborn sons, not alone in the ideal situations of epic poetry but in national and society verse. Catullus, Virgil, Ovid, Martial, Valerius Flaccus, and probably Trebius Basileus represent a period of possibly two centuries during which this tendency remained unchanged. The long continuance of this tendency—offensive though the tendency be to Anglo-Saxon taste—draws one inevitably to the conclusion that this reference to unborn children was merely the outcropping into literature of a usage which had its foundation in the common people.

The existence of such a folk usage is verified and its characteristics are illustrated in Apuleius' romance of *Cupid and Psyche*, which has been suggested by Professor E. W. Martin as furnishing a striking parallel to the *Pollio* itself. The tale is Greek, but some of its features are Roman, as is likewise the language in which it is expressed. In this tale the hopes of parents are embodied in the ideals of Cupid and Psyche, and the congratulations of kinsmen in the pretended adulation of Psyche's sisters.

Cupid plans and Psyche wonders in her heart:

Metamorphoses v, 11. Nam et familiam nostram propagabimus, et hic adhuc infantilis uterus gestat nobis infantem alium, si texeris nostra secreta silentio, divinum, si profanaveris, mortalem.

That this child is regarded as a son seems evident from Psyche's expressed hope that it may resemble its father: v, 13—"sic in hoc saltem parvulo cognoscam faciem tuam . . . . ,"[1] and particularly from the flattery of the sisters that two such beautiful parents must needs produce a Cupid,

[1] On this point see also Catullus' *Epithalamium of Vinia and Manlius*—

Sit suo similis patri
Manlio et facile insciens
noscitetur ab omnibus
et pudicitiam suae
matris indicet ore.
Ibid, 217–21—

in which the wish is expressed that the child may be his father's counterpart and bear in his face his mother's purity.

Though such evidence is not conclusive, for facial resemblance is not necessarily confined to similar sexes, nor did the Romans so judge (see Büch., *Carm. Lat. Epigr.* 42, v. 1: "Mulier ferebat filium similem sui," and Apuleius' reference to inherited beauty, *Met.* v, 14, quoted below), yet the reference to the unborn child as a Cupid removes any doubt on the subject, for Cupids have ever been regarded as males from the Alexandrian period, when the Cupid *motif* attained its prime, until the present day—

Chaucer, *The House of Fame*, i, 137:

Hir dowves, and daun Cupido,
Hir blinde sone . . . .

Dickens, *Dombey and Son* v: "Is he not a Cupid, Sir?"

The term seems never to have represented a type of beauty regardless of sex, as do apparently the epithets "cherub" and "angel."

as shown in the passage quoted below. Family pride and interest are realistically portrayed:

v, 14. Psyche, non ita ut pridem parvula, et ipsa iam mater es. Quantum, putas, boni nobis in ista geris perula; quantis gaudiis totam domum nostram hilarabis? O nos beatas, quas infantis aurei nutrimenta laetabunt! qui si parentum, ut oportet, pulchritudini responderit, prorsus Cupido nascetur.

But notwithstanding the fond hopes of the parents, in the fulness of time there was born to Cupid and Psyche, not the son desired, but a daughter, whom, says Apuleius, people call Voluptas:

vi, 24. et nascitur illis maturo partu filia, quam Voluptatem nominamus.

The unexpected conclusion of the romance is probably due to the fact that the author was expanding an earlier myth in which the Roman deity Voluptas[1] was associated as daughter with the Greek divinities Cupid and Psyche, and felt himself constrained to accept the tradition without essential variation. However, the ambition to possess a son, which forms one of the elements of human interest in the romance, is the author's own,[2] and to judge from the naïveté with which he inserts it, no incongruity was felt to exist in the combination.

This free expression of anticipation receives further confirmation in the *Acta* of the Arval Brethren—a priestly guild that reflected in a formal way the attitude of the

[1] Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* ii, 23: Cupidinis et Voluptatis et Lubentinae Veneris vocabula consecrata sunt. . . . .

[2] No other child than Voluptas is mentioned in literature, nor probably does any appear in art. The representation of Psyche holding a small Eros child like a baby to her bosom and apparently nursing it (Brit. Mus., *Cat.* No. 825; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gem.* Bd. III, 281) is probably a fanciful variation of the Cupid and Psyche *motif*. At least, regarding a similar representation (in the Kestner Collection at Hannover, Furtwängler, Taf. XLII, 36) of Psyche holding a sleeping Eros child to her bosom no questions can be raised, since the quiver and bow are hanging from a tree near by.

state toward the emperor and his family. These *Acta* form a continuous record of solicitude for the welfare of the reigning house and for its continuity. During the queen's pregnancy vows were made for her safe delivery, and after the birth of the child these vows were publicly fulfilled. Though the *Acta* are fragmentary, the evidence is explicit.

One occasion for the fulfilment of such vows was the birth of the princess, Claudia Augusta, to Nero and Poppaea:

CIL, VI, 2043 I (a. 63, January 21)—
Isdem co(n)s(ulibus)
XII k(alendas) Februar(ias)
in Capi]tolio vota soluta quae suscepe-
rant pr]o partu et incolumitate Poppaeae
Augustae]:
Q. Tillius Sassius mag(ister) collegi fratrum [Arvalium
nomine immolavit Iovi b(ovem) m(arem), Iunoni] vacc[am . .

When reference is next made in the *Acta* to the royal family, the name of the princess is included in the formal enumeration of its members:

CIL, VI, 2043 II (a. 63, April 10?)—
Isdem co(n)s(ulibus)
IIII idus [Apriles ?
magisterio Q. Tilli Sassi c[ollegi fratrum
Arvalium nomine im[molavit in Capito-
lio A. Vitellius ob ad[ventum Neronis Claudi
Caesaris Augusti [Germanici et Poppaeae
Augustae et Clau[diae Augustae Iovi b(ovem) m(arem),
Iunoni vacc(am), Min[ervae vaccam, Saluti pu-
blicae vaccam . . . .

The exact words of the vow for the safe delivery of the queen are unfortunately lost. It is probable, however, from the phrase "pro partu et incolumitate" employed in recording the fulfilment of the vow that no preference was expressed regarding the sex of the expected child. Nor

is this strange in religious ceremonial where individuality of thought and expression are sacrificed to uniformity of formula. A poet laureate, however, whose peculiar function it is to express the highest anticipations of the people, would have been wholly free from such restriction.

The persistence of this folk usage into modern times has been verified by Professor S. B. Doten, who recalls a conversation with Luigi della Piazza, formerly an Italian peasant, in which American prudery was the subject of criticism by the latter. He declared that not only was the promise of a child followed by congratulations to the mother on the part of her acquaintances, both male and female, but that accompanying the congratulations was the hope expressed that the child would be a boy.

It seems safe, therefore, to assume that the *Pollio* was in full harmony with the national spirit; that its anticipation was the nation's anticipation, its preference for a male child the nation's preference, and its prediction the nation's prediction also; and that, therefore, the collapse of the hopes voiced in the *Pollio* brought the nation a sense of disappointment rather than a sense of the ludicrous at the poet's failure. In short, the shock caused the Romans was no greater than that recently caused their lineal descendants, the Italians, who had set their hearts upon having a *bambino* as heir apparent to their throne, but whose hopes were dashed by the announcement that their keenly anticipated prince was a princess. Since Virgil wrote the *Pollio* before the birth of Julia, I can see no reason why he should have withheld the publication of the poem until the birth and then finally, when the memory of the event had faded, have brought it forth quietly as an expression of the ideal. It seems rather to have been a salutatory poem quite in keeping with the times.

It may not be superfluous to present in conclusion two parallels from English literature to show how slight after all is the divergence in manner of sex-prophesying in ancient times and those more nearly modern.

The first parallel is found in Dickens' *David Copperfield*, and represents a scene from humble life. Miss Betsey Trotwood, man-hater, prophesies that David Copperfield, the younger, yet unborn, will be a girl, but her prophecy results, as usual, disastrously.

Chap. i, "I am born—"

"I have no doubt that it will be a girl," said Miss Betsey. "I have no doubt it will be a girl. I have a presentiment that it must be a girl. Now, child, from the moment of the birth of this girl—"

"Perhaps boy," my mother took the liberty of putting in.

"I tell you I have a presentiment that it must be a girl," returned Miss Betsey. "Don't contradict. From the moment of this girl's birth, child, I intend to be her friend. I intend to be her godmother, and I beg you'll call her Betsey Trotwood Copperfield. . . . ."

The second parallel is furnished by Tennyson's *Queen Mary*, a drama relatively recent in date, yet doubtless designed as a faithful portrayal of life during the Reformation. The character of Tennyson is sufficient guaranty that gross realism has not been attempted.

The plot involves a conflict of religious and political influences. Queen Mary, the representative of the Catholic reaction in England, succeeds in allying herself in marriage with Prince Philip of Spain. Her ultimate success, however, is dependent upon the birth to her of an heir to the throne to prevent the succession of the Protestant princess, Elizabeth, or of Mary, Queen of Scots, whom the French interests were supporting.

The sex of the anticipated heir is male or indefinite according to the nature of the interest of the people who refer to it.

Simon Renard, ambassador from the court of Spain, converses with Mary before her marriage on the political and religious situation and cheers her with his optimism. The political situation suggests a son:

Act I, sc. v, 232 ff.—

Renard. Your star will rise.
Mary. My star! a baleful one.
I see but the black night, and hear the wolf.
What star?
Renard. Your star will be your princely son,
Heir of this England and the Netherlands!
And if your wolf the while should howl for more,
We'll dust him with a bag of Spanish gold.

The marriage of the queen is consummated and the nation is finally absolved by the pope, who sends his blessing to the queen. An heir is hinted at, but the formula, derived from Holy Writ, naturally precludes the mention of sex:

Act III, sc. ii, 50 ff.—

Hail,
Daughter of God, and saver of the faith.
Sit benedictus fructus ventris tui!

After the public absolution, Mary is alone. The pope's benediction finds response in anticipation and then in joyous realization. The scene portrayed by Tennyson recalls the prelude to the *Magnificat*, when the babe, John, leaped in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin. Mary's words, however, recall Isaiah and the *Pollio:*

Act III, sc. ii, 92 ff.—

Mary. He hath awaked! he hath awaked!
He stirs within the darkness!
O Philip, husband! now thy love to mine
Will cling more close, and those bleak manners thaw,

That make me shamed and tongue-tied in my love.
The second Prince of Peace—
The great unborn defender of the Faith,
Who will avenge me of mine enemies—
He comes, and my star rises.

. . . . . .

His sceptre shall go forth from Ind to Ind!
His sword shall hew the heretic peoples down!
His faith shall clothe the world that will be his,
Like universal air and sunshine! Open,
Ye everlasting gates! The King is here!—
My star, my son!

Enter PHILIP, DUKE OF ALVA, *etc.*

O, Philip, come with me!
Good news have I to tell you, news to make
Both of us happy—ay, the kingdom too.
Nay, come with me—one moment!

Public thanksgiving is immediately ordered:

Act III, sc. ii, 131 ff.—

First Page. News, mates! a miracle, a miracle! news!
The bells must ring; Te Deums must be sung;
The Queen hath felt the motion of her babe!

. . . . . .

And whether this flash of news be false or true,
So the wine run, and there be revelry,
Content am I. Let all the steeples clash,
Till the sun dance, as upon Easter Day.

But disappointment followed. The public anticipation and prophecy, as they appeared at the heyday of the nation's hopes, are sarcastically set forth by the disappointed Philip:

Act III, sc. vi, 52 ff., Philip converses with Renard.—

Philip. So sick am I with biding for this child.
Is it the fashion in this clime for women
To go twelve months in bearing of a child?
The nurses yawn'd, the cradle gaped, they led

Processions, chanted litanies, clash'd their bells,
Shot off their lying cannon, and her priests
Have preach'd, the fools, of this fair prince to come,
Till, by Saint James, I find myself the fool.

Philip would leave England, but the queen still cherishes the hope that she may yet bear a prince, and pleads with her husband to tarry:

Act III, sc. vi, 116 ff.—

Mary. The Holy Virgin will not have me yet
Lose the sweet hope that I may bear a prince.

Philip departs and disappointment finally yields to despair.

Act.V, sc. ii, 322 ff.—

Feria. Madam, I brought
My King's congratulations; it was hoped
Your Highness was once more in happy state
To give him an heir male.

Mary. Sir, you said more;
You said he would come quickly. . . . .
But the child came not, and the husband came not;
And yet he will come quickly.—Thou hast learnt
Thy lesson, and I mine. There is no need
For Philip so to shame himself again. . . . .
Tell him at last I know his love is dead,
And that I am in state to bring forth death.

The expectation of the royal family and the statesmen, which at times became prophecy, was for a male issue. Yet, the other side of the picture, that of motherhood irrespective of the sex of the offspring, is also presented, as in the gossip of the two peasant women, Joan and Tib, at the burning of Cranmer:

Act IV, sc. iii, 354 ff.—

Tib. Ay, Joan; and Queen Mary gwoes
on a-burnin' and a-burnin', to get her baaby born. . . . .

Also in the pope's benediction and in the marriage stipulation reference to offspring is made in general terms.

But, what is of greater importance in this discussion of sex-prophesying is the fact that Tennyson's picture of the days of Queen Mary is based on historical evidence even to the preparation for the birth of a prince:

The Historians' History of the World, XIX, 245—

The lovesick Mary actually fancied at this time that her longing desires for issue were about to be gratified. At the first sight of Pole, she felt, as she thought, the babe moving in her womb; this by some of the zealous was likened to John the Baptist's leaping in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin. The council wrote that very night to Bonner to order a Te Deum to be sung in St. Paul's and the other churches. Prayers were composed for the safe delivery of the queen, one of which ran partly thus: "Give therefore unto thy servants Philip and Mary a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent." Public rejoicings were made, and the household of the prince (for so it was to be) was arranged. But all was mere illusion; the pregnancy, as afterwards appeared, was but the commencement of dropsy.

The usage of the present has all of the features of earlier times except the loud and public expression of certitude regarding sex.

SEX-PROPHESYING AMONG THE ANCIENTS: ITS BASIS

By J. E. Church, Jr.

Since the preceding paper was written, the question has been raised whether this tendency to prophesy the sex of an unborn child is not due to the peculiar legal status of the father in the Roman family, i.e., to *patria potestas* rather than to some psychological characteristic of the Romans themselves.

A prolonged study of this aspect of the question has led me to the conviction that this surmise is, in general, correct. However, the primal cause is not *patria potestas* in its restricted sense, but is rather the kindred institution of male succession; nor is the phenomenon of sex-prophesying restricted to the Romans alone, but is found in at least one other widely divergent nation, where male succession was also firmly established.

This nation is the ancient Hebrews, a Semitic people, and, therefore, is racially quite distinct from the Aryan Romans, though the domestic institutions of each are very similar. In the narrative of the Pentateuch, a work antedating in all probability the period of Persian[1] influence, Rachel, the favorite wife of Jacob, has given birth to her first born child, her son Joseph, and in her maternal ambition she utters the prophecy:

Genesis 30, 24. The Lord shall add[2] to me another son.

Years passed before Rachel bore again;

[1] Since the ancient Persians were Aryans, they probably possessed domestic institutions similar to those of the Hindus and the Romans. At any rate the succession to the throne in modern Persia is based on primogeniture.

[2] The Hebrew verb in this passage is future in tense. Since, however,

Genesis 35, 17. And it came to pass, when she was in hard labour, that the midwife said unto her, Fear not; thou shalt have this son also.

When contrasted with the words of the neighbor women to the widow of Phinehas:

I Samuel 4, 20. Fear not; for thou *hast born* a son,

spoken doubtless to assure her of male succession in the family of her husband, who had just been slain in war, there can be little doubt that the statement of the midwife to Rachel was the prophecy rather than the announcement of an event. The statement of Rachel, "The Lord shall add . . . . ," is evidence merely of the deep religious spirit that pervaded Hebrew thought, and is far removed from formal Hebrew prophecy. In fact, her words were merely an expression of faith.

Though the other evidence of sex-prophesying is thickly enveloped in formal inspiration, yet it closely resembles the prophecy of Rachel; this evidence, moreover, though confined wholly to two groups of events, represents periods as far apart as the date of the Pentateuch and the Christian era.

the future may be employed to indicate simple futurity or an exhortation or prayer, diverse interpretations of this passage have arisen.

The Vulgate contains the subjunctive as its equivalent: "Addat mihi Dominus filium alterum"; while the Septuagint renders the Hebrew verb by the imperative: *Προσθέτω ὁ θεός μοι υἱὸν ἕτερον.* The meaning of the Septuagint, however, is quite similar to that of the Vulgate. This interpretation is also found in the Luther and Revised Versions: "Der Herr wolle mir noch einen Sohn dazu geben"; and "The Lord [Jehovah] add to me another son"; and is adopted by such commentators as Skinner and Delitsch.

The King James Version, however, has interpreted the Hebrew passage in its simplest sense: "The Lord shall add to me another son"; and Kent (*Students' Old Testament, loc. cit.*) has adopted this interpretation, evidently with the feeling that we are dealing with simple folk usage quite devoid of prayer or prophecy: "And she called his name Joseph [He will add], saying, JEHOVAH will add to me another son."

The evident meaning of the mother, quite apart from its religious setting, is that this son is the omen of another, or, reduced to its simplest terms, that the ability to bear this once means the ability to bear again.

The first group forms a part of the narrative of the family history of Abraham. Hagar, the handmaid of Sarai, Abraham's wife, has aroused the anger of her mistress and has fled;

Genesis 16, 11. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Behold, thou *art* with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael. . . . .

And regarding Sarai,

Genesis 17, 15–16. God said unto Abraham, ... I will bless her, and give thee a son also of her.

The second group comprises the narrative of the birth of John and of Jesus. The revelation regarding the birth of John is represented as having been made to the father, the priest Zacharias:

Luke 1, 13. But the angel said unto him, Fear not, Zacharias: for thy prayer is heard; and thy wife Elizabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John.

The revelation of the birth of Jesus is variously narrated according to the point of view which the narrators chose. According to *Matthew* the revelation was made to Joseph, the husband of Mary:

1, 20–21. But while he thought on these things, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.

And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name JESUS.

According to *Luke*, however, the revelation was made to Mary herself, in the *Annunciation*, which forms one of the gems of Christian literature:

1, 30–31. And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favor with God. And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name JESUS.

It may be argued that the prediction attributed to Rachel is merely a reflection of prophetic passages, such as those cited above, rather than evidence of an original folk usage, which lies at the foundation of the prophetic passages themselves. If the Hebrews had been sensitive regarding the incongruity of predicting the sex of their promised offspring, the historian would scarcely have permitted to pass uncorrected the error of predicting the birth of Benjamin in the form of human inspiration when he had clothed the narrative of the births of Ishmael and Isaac in the dress of formal prophecy. In fact, in the natural order of development the simpler gives rise to the more complex and the folk custom becomes embellished with religious imagery.

Furthermore, the incentive to prophesy the male sex was fully as great among the Hebrews as among the Romans because of their overwhelming desire for male children, which was doubtless due to the predominant position held by the male as head of the family and link in the genealogical chain.

The continuity of the family was jealously guarded.[1] Barrenness whether in male or female was despised, and fruitfulness was a national ideal:

> *Deuteronomy* 7, 14. Thou shalt be blessed above all people: there shall not be male or female barren among you, or among your cattle.[2]

Sons were preferred to daughters and in the Hebrew ritual the first born males, but not the females, were considered as

[1] This trait is best illustrated by the story of Lot's daughters, *Gen.* 19, 30 ff. The fear of permitting the family succession to fail is further illustrated by the story of Judah and the widow Tamar, *Gen.* 38, 6 ff.

[2] See also *Deut.* 28, 11; 30, 9, where the substance of the same thought is repeated. Potency was also safeguarded by law, *Deut.* 25, 11–12.

devoted unto the Lord.[1] Indeed to bear sons was the burden of many a Hebrew woman's longing,[2] but no such eagerness to bear daughters is ever expressed. Yet daughters are mentioned, as in Job,[3] as the portion of an ideal family.

The practice of male succession and even of primogeniture within the male succession was strictly enjoined, so that in the case of two wives, the one favorite and the other hated, the son of the hated, if he be the first born, must receive from the father a double inheritance and succeed to the headship of the family, "for he is the beginning of his [i.e., the father's] strength."[4] And in the event of the death of the first born, his brother next in age must under severe penalty take the widow, if there be one, to wife and by her raise up children unto the deceased to receive his name and his inheritance.[5] And in case the only child was

[1] *Ex.* 13, 2, 12, 15; 22, 29; 34, 19–20. This conception is probably a survival of the primitive family priesthood, which passed with the inheritance to the oldest son. Yet there may also be at its source the still more primitive custom of sacrificing the first born both of man and of beast to the deity (*Gen.* 22, 1–14). With the institution of a national priesthood, possibly through the influence of Egyptian priestly usage, the family priesthood seems to have waned (*Num.* 3, 40 ff.; 8, 18 ff.).

[2] See the story of Hannah, *I Sam.* 1, and Leah's rejoicing at each successive birth of a son, *Gen.* 29, 32–35; 30, 20.

[3] *Job* 42, 13–15. He had also seven sons and three daughters. . . . . And in all the land were no women found so fair as the daughters of Job. . . . .

The numerals seven and three, associated with the two sexes respectively, indicate the pre-eminence of the sons over the daughters; for with the Hebrews seven is the most holy number, while three, though sacred, is held in less esteem. Three is also rhetorical for a small total (see *Gen.* 30, 36; 40, 10, 12; 42, 17; *Ex.* 2, 2; 3, 18). The numbers are, moreover, the same as those applied to Job's first family, which perished at the beginning of his trials, while the numbers applied to his flocks and herds are greatly increased. The giving of names to these daughters, whether the numeral "three" be regarded as definite or general, is merely an embellishment of the story.

[4] *Deut.* 21, 17. The pre-eminent position of the first born in the Hebrew family is evident from the significance attached by the Hebrews to the death of the first born of the Egyptians and to the passing over of their own by the angel of death.

[5] This is known as the levirate succession. The levirate ceremony seems to have been strictly enjoined at first, to judge from the story of Tamar, *Gen.* 38, 8. But in the Deuteronomic code the custom was modified by permitting

a daughter, she was given in marriage preferably to her nearest of kin in order that theoretically her husband might enter into the inheritance, but practically that by her might be born a son to enter upon her father's inheritance and continue the family succession.[1]

Indeed, lineage among the Hebrews was designated by the term "son and son's son"[2] to the complete exclusion of any reference to the daughters or their offspring. And in all the Hebrew genealogies extant in the Scriptures rarely are the names of daughters added[3] or mention made of the wife.[4] The male child was therefore pre-eminently the center of Hebrew interest. However, the position of the wife was fully as high in the Hebrew family as in the Roman. Though the husband could control the religious

the surviving brother to refuse to marry his brother's widow, provided he submitted to the ceremony of ḥaliṣah, or untying of the shoe. The levirate ceremony was still practiced at the beginning of the Christian era. See *Matt.* 22, 24 ff.; also Mark 12, 19 ff., and *Luke* 20, 28 ff., although in *Mark* and *Luke* the time of the event narrated is not explicitly mentioned. In the Talmudic period the tendency against the original custom was intensified by the apprehension that the brother-in-law might desire to marry his brother's widow (*Lev.* 18, 16), from other motives than that of "establishing a name unto his brother" so that at present ḥaliṣah has become the general rule and levirate marriage the rare exception.

[1] *Tobit* 3, 10–15; 6, 10–12.

[2] *Ez.* 10, 2; *Job* 42, 16. After this lived Job an hundred and forty years, and saw his sons and his sons' sons, *even* four generations.

This term has the greater significance in the presence of the preceding verse: And in all the land were no women found *so* fair as the daughters of Job; and their father gave them inheritance among their brethren.

[3] In *Genesis* 5, which gives the genealogy of the Hebrew race to the Flood, after the name of the first born there frequently occurs the supplementary clause "and begat sons and daughters." The names of the daughters, however, do not occur.

[4] In *Matthew* 1, "The Genealogy of JESUS," Mary, the mother of Jesus, is mentioned, but the genealogy passes through males, not to her father but to her husband, Joseph. However, in this genealogy appear the names of mothers where the circumstances were unusual; such were Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and the wife of Urias (see vss. 3–6).

In *Luke* 3, 23 ff. the genealogy is likewise given through Joseph, but with the statement that Joseph was wrongly supposed to be the father.

vows of his wife,[1] yet she was honored by the children under strictest injunction on equality with her husband,[2] and exercised the power of discipline jointly with him.[3] The superior position of man rested, therefore, not so much on lack of high respect for women as on his ancient position as priest of the family and guardian of its continuity.

The same phenomenon of sex-prophesying in association with the institution of male succession appears in yet another still more remotely situated people—the ancient Hindus. They belong, however, to the same ethnical division as the Greeks and the Romans, and for this reason furnish a desirable viewpoint from which to compare the latter. Their code particularly, because of the religious basis that is usually found attached to each ordinance, furnishes abundant data for the study of the sources of early domestic institutions.

The evidence regarding sex-prophesying is far less definite than among the Hebrews or the Romans. Yet it points clearly to a preference for sons and to the predominance of the male sex. The following magical ceremony to obtain a son indicates the feeling of certainty that the mother was authorized to entertain, providing that she duly performed the necessary rites:

The Ordinances of Manu (Trans. of Burnell and Hopkins), Lecture iii, 262. A lawful wife devoted to her husband, intent on the worship of the manes (i.e., on raising up a son to perpetuate the

[1] *Num.* 30, 3 ff., esp. 13. The vows of the Hebrew woman could also be controlled before her marriage by her father (vss. 3–5); but in case of widowhood her vows were free from restriction (vs. 9). The origin of this custom of control seems to have been in a patriarchal religion of which the head of the family was priest and to which all the members of the family were subject. The breaking-down of this religion, perhaps through the rise of a national cult and priesthood, appears in the initiative given women to make vows subject to their husband's acquiescence.

[2] *Deut.* 5, 16; 21, 18; 27, 16.

[3] *Deut.* 21, 18–21.

worship of the ancestral spirits of the family, and, therefore, to perpetuate the family itself), should then duly eat the middle cake, (if) desirous of offspring.

263. (Thus) she brings forth a long-lived son, endowed with fame (and) intelligence, wealthy, having offspring, truthful, (and) also righteous.

Of the sacredness of the institution of male succession and the pre-eminence of man over woman the Hindu ordinances furnish abundant and detailed evidence. Indeed, the domestic institutions of the ancient Hindus resemble those of the Hebrews even to the unusual levirate succession.

The chief end of man was reproduction:

Manu ix, 96. Women are created in order to bear children, and men (are created) in order to beget posterity; therefore common religious duties (for the man) with his wife are declared in revelation.

Sons were essential to the family succession and to the eternal happiness of the ancestral spirits:

Manu ix, 137. Through a son one conquers worlds (i.e., "heaven and other places devoid of sorrow"), through a son's son one attains endlessness, and through the son's son of a son one attains the world of the sun.

Wives performed rites to obtain sons (*Manu* iii, 262–63, quoted above), and in statements of progeny, sons are mentioned to the exclusion of daughters:

Manu iii, 39. Of the four marriages, Brāhma and the like in order, are born sons learned in the Vedas, approved by good men. . . . .

41. But of the other remaining bad marriages are born cruel, untruthful sons, hating the Vedas (and) duty.

In case a husband died without children his widow was permitted to raise up a son to the deceased by the husband's brother or a blood kinsman:

Manu ix, 59. When there is a lack of offspring the progeny wished for may be procured by the wife being regularly commis-

sioned (to bear children generated) by the brother-in-law or some blood-relation of the husband's family.

60. The (man who is) commissioned . . . . shall beget . . . . one son by the widow, but never a second (son).[1]

And to such son passed the inheritance of the deceased:

Manu ix, 145. The son born of (a wife who is) commissioned may inherit just like a son of the body . . . . ; and

146. He who maintains both the estate and the wife of a dead brother should, after raising up a child for his brother, bestow upon this (child) alone the property of this (brother).[2]

But if the deceased possessed even a daughter, the levirate ceremony was waived and this daughter was commissioned through marriage to raise up a son unto her father:

Manu ix, 127. One who is without a son should, by the following rule, make his daughter provide him a son: "The offspring which may be hers shall be for me the giver of offerings to the manes."

And to provide for the perpetuation of the worship of the manes of the natural father this son was given the function of joint son to both:

Manu ix, 132. And, indeed, since the son of the daughter takes the whole inheritance (of his mother's) father (who) died without a son, he alone should give two funeral cakes, (one) to his father, and (one) to his mother's father.

[1] This restriction to one son, like the institution of primogeniture, arose from the belief that one son was fully sufficient to perpetuate the worship of the manes. Hence, the widow would fully perform her duty to her deceased husband by bearing him one son; and so firmly was the doctrine of the sufficiency of one son established that in the case of plural wives the birth of a son to one wife was sufficient for all, *Manu* ix, 183.

[2] This institution of levirate succession, though firmly established and legalized (*Manu* iii, 173; ix, 59–63, 120, 144–47, 190), fell into disuse as it did among the Hebrews; and a protest against it appears appended to the more elaborate ordinance it is intended to supplant, *Manu* ix, 64–66 and Notes; also v, 159 ff. This protest is supported on the ground that the levirate law is "(fit only) for cattle," and that, furthermore, many thousands of Brahmans have entered heaven childless. This refinement of domestic relations gradually superseded religious exactions.

As the levirate ceremony waned the custom of adoption or of purchase may have arisen as its substitute. At least these methods of perpetuating the family were formally recognized, *Manu* ix, 141–42; 174.

Sometimes apparently the family was permitted to become extinct, the head of the family and his widow, who failed to have recourse to any of the above ceremonies, receiving their justification in the consolation of the code:

Manu v, 159. Many thousands of Brahmans chaste from youth (i.e., unmarried) have gone to heaven without leaving children to perpetuate the family.

160. (Her) husband being dead, a virtuous wife, firm in chastity, goes, though childless, to heaven like those chaste (men).

However, so heavily did the necessity of perpetuating the family by sons of the body weigh upon the Hindus that conclusive evidence of sterility in the wife or tendency to bear only female children was deemed sufficient cause for superseding her by a second wife:

Manu ix, 81. A sterile (wife) may be over-married in the eighth year (after marriage); if her children have died (she may be over-married) in the tenth (year); if she bears (only) female (children), in the eleventh (year). . . . .

Markedly similar to the Hindu were the fundamental domestic relations of the Greeks and the Romans, as were also the religious conceptions that underlay them and gave them permanency.

The institution of ancestor worship existed among both, and rigid provision was made to prevent the extinction of any family with its worship and the consequent misery of the neglected manes.[1] Family succession, moreover, was

[1] Lucian, *De Luctu* 24; Eurip., *Helena* 1165–68; Xenophon, *Mem.* ii, 2, 13; Plut., *Solon* 21.

Cic., *De Leg.* ii, 9; Ovid, *Fasti* ii, 533–70 (Parentalia); v, 421 ff. (Lemuria).

entirely through the male and by procreation where possible.[1] Levirate succession seems to have been unknown. Among the Greeks, however, a daughter could in a way continue the succession through marriage preferably with the nearest of kin,[2] and to him passed the inheritance. In case of childlessness recourse was had to adoption by both Greeks and Romans, but sons, not daughters, were the subjects of adoption.[3]

So far as can be determined, the tendency of both Greeks and Romans to exalt the male, when compared with their treatment of women, had a similar development and persistence. *Patria potestas* was vigorous at Rome; yet the women were highly honored. On the other hand, *patria potestas* and consequent reverence for the head of the family suffered decline at Athens; but this decline was counterbalanced by the lack of respect shown Greek women by their husbands, and by their seclusion.

However, no evidence has yet been procured to indicate that the Greeks resembled the Romans or the other peoples mentioned in the matter of sex-prophesying. In fact, a bit of evidence from Theocritus, to which should be added the evidence of Apollonius at the beginning of this paper, indicates the opposite tendency; but this evidence is by no means conclusive. In the *Epithalamium of Menelaus and Helen* (Idyl xviii) the poet chooses the neuter rather than venture any reference to the masculine.

vs. 21. ἦ μέγα τοί κε τέκοιτ', εἰ ματέρι τίκτεν ὁμοῖον.

And again at the close of the hymn, he chooses the abstract εὐτεκνίαν rather than a concrete designation for sons or children:

[1] Isaeus, (ii) *Menek.* 11; (vii) *Apollod.* 20; Plato, *Nomoi* xi, 930; Cic., *De Domo Sua* 13.

[2] Isaeus, (iii) *Pyrrh.* 64; (x) *Arist.* 5; Plato, *Nomoi* xi, 924 end.

[3] Isaeus, (ii) *Menek.* 11–14; Plato, *Nomoi* xi, 924.

vss. 49 ff. *Χαίροις, ὦ νύμφα, χαίροις, εὐπένθερε γαμβρέ.*
Λατὼ μὲν δοίη, Λατὼ κουροτρόφος, ὕμμιν
εὐτεκνίαν. . . . .

Yet despite this difference in usage, the belief of the Greeks in man's superiority over woman was fully as pronounced as among the other peoples discussed. In one respect only did the Greeks differ from them. The others were legalists and formalists, while the Greeks were not. But the legal expression of domestic prerogatives is not sufficient to account for this apparent difference in attitude. The cause lies rather in some psychological peculiarity of one or the other of the peoples in question. And since the Romans and the Hebrews represented among ancient nations not so much dull mentality as the Greeks did superrefinement of reasoning, the attitude of the Greeks rather than that of their neighbors should be considered the unusual one. And especially is this true, if the Hindus, renowned for intellectual power, be included with the former as prophesiers of sex. To desire a male child and to prophesy its birth were congruous acts to the Romans and Hebrews, while to the sensitive intellects of the Greeks sex-prophesying under any impulse seems to have been highly absurd.

If any evidence should perchance be found showing that sex-prophesying existed also among the Greeks, the prevalence of this custom among all ancients who accentuated the male as the palladium of the family, should be strongly suspected even though the custom may not appear in their literature.[1]

[1] The study of sex-prophesying among the Chinese is left for the specialist in Chinese literature and customs. The existence of ancestor worship among them and the pre-eminence of the male in their family organization are alluring not only for the study of sex-prophesying but also for the observation of the ancient family in real life.

NOTE

The Identity of the Mother in Martial vi, 3

Martial's epigram, vi, 3, addressed to Domitian ostensibly on the expected birth of a son, is considered as based on reality by Friedländer, Gsell, Weynand, Stein, and others. But since neither birth, except of a first child, now dead, nor miscarriage on the part of Domitia, the wife of Domitian, is recorded, the assertion has been made that this poem is ideal. Such a conclusion, however, is at variance with the realism of the poem, and, furthermore, is quite unnecessary. The poem may have originated through a misconception regarding the empress' condition, as did the anticipations of the English in the case of Queen Mary (Tudor). It is more probable, however, that the offspring mentioned belonged not to the empress, but to Julia, the daughter of Titus, who was living in open adultery with Domitian. Such is the conjecture of Stephenson, who, however, attributes the child to Julia after the repudiation of Domitia. Though the evidence is circumstantial, it is abundant and apparently complete.

The most striking facts are, first, the entire absence of the name of Domitia from the epigram and the presence of Julia's in its place; and, second, the coincidence of the death of Julia from abortion and the publication of the poem. Furthermore, the reference to Julia—

vss. 5–6. Ipsa tibi niveo trahet aurea pollice fila
et totam Phrixi Iulia nebit ovem—

though apparently signifying her guardianship, may indicate her motherhood as well.

It is true that Friedländer, Gsell, Weynand, Stein, and perhaps others interpret the reference to Julia as meaning that she was dead and deified, and that she was invoked by Martial as the protecting goddess of the expected child. But this view does not seem well founded. The epigram contains nothing requiring the belief that Julia was no longer living. On the contrary, members of the imperial family, while yet alive, were often given attributes of deity, and instances of this are found from the early years of Augustus' reign, as in Virgil, *Ecl.* i, 42 ff., and *Georg.* i, 24 ff., and in Horace, *Carm.* i, 2. Instances are frequent in Martial, as in vi, 10, where Domitian is alluded to under the names Jupiter and Tonans. The epigram of Martial, therefore, under discussion was appropriate to the prominent position occupied by the living Julia in the imperial household, whether she was the mother or only the cousin of the child. The other epigram to Julia in this same book (vi, 13), believed by Friedländer also to refer to Julia's deification, has a light and almost playful tone which seems opposed to his interpretation. The scene might well be conceived as occurring on Olympus (cf. Homer, *Il.* xiv, 188 ff.), yet a coin bearing the image of Venus and the superscription of Julia, without the word *diva*, may indicate that such a theme was current before her death. It is also noteworthy that in neither epigram is she mentioned as *diva*, as she is in ix, 1, obviously written after her death. We hold, therefore, that both epigrams in Book vi were written while she was yet living.

Regarding the relations of Domitian and Julia, the traditional story, many points of which are authenticated, is this: The domestic life of Domitian was a continuous career of illicit intercourse more or less public with

women (Suet., *Dom.* 1, 22). He tore Domitia from her husband, but afterward put her aside on the charge of adultery and lived openly with Julia (Suet., *Dom.* 1 and 3, and Dio Cass. lxvii, 3), his brother Titus' daughter, whom he had likewise seduced, but whom he never married (Suet., *Dom.* 22). He soon afterward restored Domitia, either because he could not endure the separation, as Suetonius believes (*Dom.* 3), or as Domitian himself declared and as Dio Cassius states (Suet., *Dom.* 3; Dio Cass. lxvii, 3), because the people desired it. Notwithstanding this, he continued his illicit relations with Julia to the end (Dio Cass. lxvii, 3).

Her high position in the imperial household is plainly evident from the association of her name twice with Domitian's in the epigrams of Martial, while the name of Domitia, though empress, does not once appear. One of these two occasions is the linking of her name with the expected heir (vi, 3), the other, the associating of her deified spirit with the emperor's achievements (ix, 1). In a third epigram, she is mentioned as the proud rival of Juno and Venus (vi, 13). The composing of this epigram and the striking to her of the coin mentioned above, containing on the reverse side a figure of Venus with the legend VENUS AUGUST, are strong evidence of Domitian's amorous attachment to her and of Martial's fidelity to him. On the other hand, the entire absence of Domitia's name from the epigrams indicates the lack of esteem in which she was held by Domitian. Dio Cassius (lxvii, 15) even refers to this feeling as constant and lasting hatred—a mood which explains Julia's elevation to the wife's position though not her name.

While the name of Domitia was always explicitly mentioned by the Arval Brethren in connection with the emperor's in their formal vows for the safety and welfare of the royal house, yet it is significant that the name of Julia always appeared with them (*CIL*, VI, 2060, 2064, 2065). Still the occurrence of her name may be due to its earlier appearance in vows for her father Titus and herself. In only one instance is Julia's name omitted, viz., in the acclaim of the populace: "Domino et dominae feliciter!" (Suet., *Dom.* 13), which may indicate the popular devotion to the empress, to which Domitian ostensibly yielded when he restored her to her position. Furthermore, after the assassination of Domitian, his ashes were mingled with those of Julia by his nurse, Phyllis, who must have had an intimate knowledge of their mutual affection (Suet., *Dom.* 17).

The death of Julia through abortion and the emperor's part in it are mentioned by Suetonius (*Dom.* 22), Pliny (*Epist.* iv, 11, 6), Juvenal (*Sat.* 2, 32 f.), and the scholiast on the latter (*loc. cit.*), who completes the details. Her death must have occurred after January 3, 87, when her name appears for the last time in the *Acta* of the Arval Brethren (*CIL*, VI, 2065), and before January 3, 90 (*CIL*, VI, 2067), when her name should have reappeared, if she had been living.

The first positive evidence of Julia's deification is found in a coin referring to her as *diva*, and struck, doubtless, at the emperor's command. As it is natural to suppose that this coin was issued soon after her death, the date 90/1 (Weynand, Pauly-Wissowa, VI, Sp. 2573, 6) has led most scholars to put her death late in the year 89. But the year 88 is preferred by Gsell (*Essai sur le Règne de l'Empereur Domitien*, p. 240, n. 3), who is followed by Weynand. The basis of this view is the fact that Domitian was away from Rome during much of the year 89, the only ground, evidently, which prevented them from deciding for a date as late as the closing days of December, 89. Admitting from the silence of Statius, *Silv.* i, 1, 94 ff., written about December 1, 89, that Julia had not at that time been deified, they prefer to believe that after her death a delay of a year or more took place before her deification.

Against this view may be urged the objection that such a delay, in view of the depth of feeling existing between the emperor and his niece, is difficult to explain. Secondly, not enough is known of the movements of Domitian during the year 89 to warrant the conclusion that he had not met Julia at some time during the summer. It is known that early in the year he was on the Rhine engaged in a campaign against the Chatti, that later in the year he was on the Danube directing a campaign against the Dacians, and that he returned to Rome in the autumn and celebrated a double triumph in November. But we do not know the length of either campaign, or anything of his movements between the two campaigns. Gsell and Weynand admit the possibility that he returned to Rome before proceeding to the Dacian frontier, and Gsell admits even the possibility that Julia accompanied or met him. It is practically certain that he did not proceed from the Rhine to Dacia along or near the right bank of the Danube. This route would have shortened the distance little, and it would have led him through a more or less difficult country, where he would have been exposed to delay or danger from some of the bitterest enemies of Rome. Considerations of speed and safety must have led him to follow a well-beaten road through regions thoroughly subjugated to Roman government, and any routes of this nature at that time must have taken him into the valley of the Po. Indeed, if he came south through the easy Brenner Pass, he was following one of the most direct routes between the two seats of war. It seems certain, therefore, that he came at least as close to Rome as the valley of the Po. If this is true, Julia and the emperor could easily have met, either by Julia's traveling northward, or by the emperor's continuing his journey to Rome. His delay in attempting to avenge the disaster inflicted upon the Romans by the Dacians does not indicate that he believed his presence urgently required on the Danube; and his submission to the terms of a disgraceful peace with them does not show that he was eager to preserve the prestige of Roman arms.

On these grounds it seems more reasonable, in harmony with the earlier view, to place the death of Julia after the emperor's return from Dacia. This date, it should be noted, is in complete accord with the chronology of Martial's epigrams. Friedländer gives the date of publication of the fifth book in the autumn of 89, Gsell in December of the same year. Gsell's reasons for his date do not seem cogent, but even if he is right there was still time for the death of Julia after the formal publication of this book. The third and the thirteenth epigrams of the sixth book were also issued before her death, and in the year 90 were included with the others in the formal publication of this book.

The death of Julia followed probably in December, and her deification soon after, as attested by the coin mentioned above. The epigram to the expected child and the death of Julia form a coincidence so striking that it leads us strongly to the belief that Julia was the mother, a belief that is made yet stronger by the entire absence in the historians of this period of any mention of the pregnancy of Domitia or anticipation of an heir to the throne by her, though the question of the succession to the throne, in view of the anarchy that followed the death of Nero, must have haunted the nation's mind. On the other hand, the death of Julia by abortion and the emperor's part in it, even to details, are a favorite theme of these writers. This conclusion, it should be said, would clearly have been reached by Friedländer, had he not been convinced that Julia was not living when the epigram was written.

How Domitian could have felt flattered by such a poem and then have forced Julia to commit abortion seems at first a mystery, and Martial himself has placed the poem in rather harsh juxtaposition with the preceding one (vi, 2), in which the emperor is praised for stamping out adultery. But Domi-

tian's whole life had been a combination of high moral precept and degenerate moral practice (Pliny, *Epist.* iv, 11, 6), which Martial has presented in these two epigrams (the latter veiled) in his endeavor to please his royal patron.

The emperor's awakening may have come soon, when impending public disapproval, which seems earlier to have caused him to restore the empress, Domitia, to his palace, may have roused him to action; and in his endeavor to destroy the evidence, he destroyed the mother as well.

Even if the epigram could have been suppressed after the death of Julia, it contained nothing which would make it advisable for the poet to take this action. Indeed, its fate would depend in inverse ratio upon the fate of the child. Now that the child was destroyed, the preservation of the epigram was assured, for its withdrawal at this time would have been equivalent to a confession of guilt.

The sons of Flavius Clemens, who were designated about this time, or probably later, by Domitian as his heirs, cannot possibly have been the subject of the epigram in question.

The empress, Domitia, remained out of sympathy with the emperor, and finally, to avoid his fury, aided in accomplishing his destruction (Suet., *Dom.* 14; Dio Cass. lxvii, 15).

If our conclusion is correct, this epigram not only furnishes convincing evidence for sex-prophesying but illuminates a critical period in the chequered life of Domitian.—J. E. CHURCH, JR., and J. C. WATSON.

L. Soc

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA BULLETIN

VOL. V OCTOBER 1, 1911 No. 5

UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA STUDIES

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME III, NUMBER 2
1911

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

NOTE.—The University of Nevada publications are offered in exchange for certain periodicals and for the publications of learned societies and institutions, universities, and libraries. For sample copies address the University Library, Reno, Nevada.

Entered in the Post-Office at Reno, Nevada, as second-class matter, under Act of Congress, July 16, 1894

University of Nevada Studies

EDITED BY THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

Herbert Wynford Hill.

Volume III, Number 2
1911

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FEB 21 1912
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The University

The articles that appear in the University of Nevada Studies are contributed principally by the instructors in the University of Nevada, but contributions from other sources are not excluded.

JAMES EDWARD CHURCH, JR.,
CARL ALFRED JACOBSEN,
HERBERT WYNFORD HILL,
Committee on Publications

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

CONTENTS

La Calprenède's Romances and the Restoration Drama
By Herbert Wynford Hill

LA CALPRENÈDE'S ROMANCES AND THE RESTORATION DRAMA

By Herbert Wynford Hill

PART II:[1] THE INFLUENCE OF *CASSANDRA* AND *CLEOPATRA* ON THE RESTORATION DRAMA

The English heroic play is generally conceded to begin with Davenant.[2] The *Siege of Rhodes* possesses many elements of the heroic play,[3] and *Love and Honour* conforms even more closely to the type. Without question, also, many of the elements of the heroic play appeared in the English drama before Davenant.[4] Other writers of heroic romances than La Calprenède aided in the development of the heroic play; some preceded him. Our study, however, is concerned with La Calprenède and begins with his influence on Dryden as this English playwright was the first to afford specific evidence of indebtedness to the author of *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra*.

The mutual resemblance of various situations and incidents in La Calprenède's romances was pointed out in Part I of this study. As one proceeds through the pages of

[1] Part I was published in the *University of Nevada Studies*, Vol. II, No. 3.

[2] Dryden in his *Essay on Heroic Plays* prefixed to the *Conquest of Granada* (Saintsbury ed. of *Works of Dryden* 1883, Vol. IV, p. 19) writes: "For heroic plays, in which only I have used it without the mixture of prose, the first light we had of them, on the English theatre, was from the late Sir William Davenant."

Cf. also *The English Heroic Play* by Lewis Nathaniel Chase; Beljame's *Le public et les hommes de lettres en Angleterre au XVIIIe siècle*, pp. 40+; and Charlanne's *Influence française en Angleterre au XVIIe siècle*, chap. vii.

[3] Cf. "The Rise of the Heroic Play," by Professor Child, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XIX, p. 166.

[4] Cf. Professor Child's article just cited; and also Professor Tupper's discussion of the relation of the heroic play to the romances of Beaumont and Fletcher, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, September, 1905, pp. 584+.

Cassandra and *Cleopatra* he finds it constantly easier to forecast the relations that will be established among the characters in the successive histories, and the corresponding reactions. Passing directly from the romances to some of Dryden's plays, such as *The Indian Queen*, *The Indian Emperor*, and *The Conquest of Granada*, one experiences little sense of change: the types of characters are the same, the characters are related in the same way, under similar circumstances they do the same things. In order to estimate the extent of this similarity it has been thought best to present first a composite romance built up of the stock situations and incidents of *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra*, and to endeavor to see how closely the lines of the plays follow the pattern of the romances. Such a romance would read as follows:

I. The hero, in disguise or through misfortune reduced from his rightful rank and heritage, falls violently in love with the daughter or protégée of the obdurate ruler. (This is the case in the main and duplicating plots of *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra* and in various minor plots. Cf. *Cassandra*, 7, 120, 188, 347, 367, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 56, 84, 218, 277, 319; Part II, pp. 127, 186, 431, etc.)[1]

II. The hero performs wonders:
   1. In tournaments (cf. *Cassandra*, 12, 280, etc.);
   2. In gladiatorial combats (cf. *Cassandra*, 142+; *Cleopatra*, Part II, pp. 424+);
   3. In single and mixed combats, not in battles. (These are innumerable);
   4. In battle (cf. *Cassandra*, 6, 29, 71, 77, 82, 189, 285, 328, 347+, 426, 493, 529, 557, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 120–29, 264; Part II, pp. 129+, etc.);

[1] The page references are to Cotterell's translation of *Cassandra*, ed. of 1676, and Loveday's translation of *Cleopatra*, ed. of 1674.

5. In saving the life of the ruler (cf. *Cassandra*, 43, 100, 379, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part II, pp. 552, etc.; Part I, p. 183);
6. In preserving the kingdom from ruin (cf. *Cassandra*, 29+, 347+, 379+, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 215+, 183+, 150+; Part II, pp. 146+, etc.).

III. The hero scorns all rewards save the hand of the heroine. (This is invariably the case.)

IV. The heroine's hand is denied him because of:
1. His supposed low station (cf. *Cassandra*, 17, 77+, 124; *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 247, 381, etc.);
2. Hostility to his family (cf. *Cassandra*, 397, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 298; Part II, p. 197, etc.);
3. The promise of the heroine to another (cf. *Cassandra*, 137, 347+, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 129, 225; Part II, pp. 493, 513, etc.).

V. The hero is either:
1. Banished (cf. *Cassandra*, 111, 171, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 138, 224, 384; Part II, p. 139, etc.); or
2. Imprisoned (cf. *Cassandra*, 51, 78, 141, 397, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 256, 299; Part II, pp. 485, 514, 545, etc.).

VI. The hero is brought back or freed:
1. Through his own efforts (cf. *Cassandra*, 144, 406, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 309+, 265, etc.); or
2. By the heroine (cf. *Cassandra*, 144; *Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 311; Part II, pp. 35, 544, etc.); or
3. By his captors who need his services (cf. *Cassandra*, 79+, 556; *Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 264, etc.).

VII. The hero further illustrates his prowess by:
1. Taking the weaker side in combats (this is a very frequent way of introducing heroes);

2. Going to the opposite side, carrying victory with him (*Cassandra*, 29; *Cleopatra*, pp. 150, 227+; Part II, pp. 145+, etc.);
3. Killing or humiliating his rivals (*Cassandra*, 123, 138+, 203, 418, 551, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 140, 230; Part II, pp. 41, 146, 201, etc.);
4. Saving the life of the heroine (*Cassandra*, 167, 178, 203, 494; *Cleopatra*, Part II, pp. 91, 463+, and note below under "X").

VIII. The hero further illustrates his chivalry by courtesy to his enemies (*Cassandra*, 108, 379, 433, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part II, pp. 367, 446+, 550+, etc.).

IX. The heroine is carried off by:
1. The hero (*Cassandra*, 426; *Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 217, etc.);
2. Unscrupulous rivals (*Cassandra*, 435, 439, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 396+, 408+, 494, 529; Part II, pp. 95, 112, 463, 488, etc.);
3. Pirates (*Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 75, 206; Part II, pp. 53, 258); or
4. She is shipwrecked (*Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 211, 473, 523; Part II, pp. 114, 344, 523).

X. She is rescued:
1. By the hero (*Cassandra*, 178, 438, 493; *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 204, 414, 533; Part II, pp. 463+, etc.);
2. By her own efforts (*Cassandra*, 445; *Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 211, etc.).

XI. The wicked woman:
1. Attempts to kill the heroine (*Cassandra*, 243+, 553+);
2. Stirs up the heroine's jealousy by slandering the hero or making love to him (*Cassandra*, 25+, 84+).

XII. The unscrupulous rival:
1. Attempts to kill the hero (*Cassandra*, 225, 551, 557+, etc.; *Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 140; Part II, pp. 360+, 462+);
2. Slanders him or the heroine (*Cassandra*, 195, 229+; *Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 102; Part II, pp. 358+, etc.).

XIII. The difficulties are solved wholly or in part by:
1. The hero, who conquers his enemies or reveals his identity (*Cassandra*, 557, 562; *Cleopatra*, Part II, pp. 526+, etc.);
2. The ruler, who gives in or is killed (*Cassandra*, 433; *Cleopatra*, Part II, pp. 567+, 570, etc.);
3. The generous rival, who sacrifices himself for the hero;
4. The wicked woman, who assists the hero (*Cassandra*, 557).

The Indian Queen[1]

In January, 1664, *The Indian Queen* appeared at the Theatre Royal "with great splendour and marked success."[2] The play was the joint production of Dryden and his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Howard. Just how much of the play Dryden wrote is difficult to estimate, but probably a considerable portion.[3]

The play was first published under the cover of *Four New Plays*, together with *The Surprisal*, *The Committee*, *The*

[1] The title-page of this first edition reads: "The Indian Queen, a Tragedy, London, Printed for *H. Herringman*, at the *Blew Anchor* in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange. 1665."

[2] Evelyn (February 5, 1664) compliments it as the best play he has seen in a mercenary theater. Pepys (February 1, 1664) thought it was spoiled by the rhyme. For an account of some of the splendors of scenery read the epilogue.

[3] Cf. preface to *The Indian Emperor*, where Dryden referring to *The Indian Queen* says, "part of which poem was writ by me."

Vestal Virgin. The incidents and situations are those of La Calprenède's romances, and their arrangement is much the same. They are as follows:

1. The hero through misfortune reduced from his rightful rank falls violently in love with the daughter of the obdurate ruler.

2. The hero performs wonders: (*a*) in battle; (*b*) in preserving the kingdom from ruin.

3. The hero scorns all rewards save the hand of the heroine.

4. The heroine's hand is denied him because of his supposed low station.

5. The hero is threatened with imprisonment.

6. But he escapes.

7. The hero further illustrates his prowess by: (*a*) going to the other side carrying victory with him; (*b*) saving the life of the heroine; (*c*) saving the life of the obdurate ruler.

8. The ruler[1] claims the captive king and heroine, and, the hero objecting to this,

9. Puts him into chains.

10. The wicked woman: (*a*) attempts to kill the hero: but (*b*) falls in love with him and cannot carry out her purpose.

11. The wicked woman tries to kill the heroine.

12. The unscrupulous rival tries to kill the hero.

13. In a single scene the wicked woman and the unscrupulous rival mutually protect the hero and the heroine from each other.

14. The hero and the heroine are freed by the generous rival.

15. The hero and the generous rival fight a duel.

[1] Not the obdurate ruler of "1," but the usurping Queen of Mexico. As a stock character she corresponds to the wicked woman of the romances.

16. The hero and the heroine are recaptured and condemned to die before the altar.

17. The generous rival sacrifices himself to save the hero and the heroine.

18. The wicked woman cuts the bonds of the hero, and arms him with a dagger.

19. The hero kills the unscrupulous rival.

20. A revolution puts the hero in power.

21. The wicked woman stabs herself.

These situations and incidents are arranged in the order of presentation in the play given; given the notation of the composite romance they will fall into the following pattern: I; II 4, 6; III; IV 1; V 2; VI 1; VII 2, 4; II 5; (8 not conventional); V 2; (10 not conventional); XI 1; XII 1; (13 not conventional); XIII 3; (15 conventional although not listed); (16 conventional in part but not listed); XIII 3; XIII 4; VII 3; (20 conventional but not listed); (21 conventional but not listed).

Sixteen of them fall into the Romance pattern. Five of these sixteen occur in the main plots and in the two supporting plots of both *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra*, and the others repeatedly in the main or supporting plots. The remaining five of the twenty-one parallel more or less closely single incidents and situations found in one or the other of the two romances.[1] One of these five follows the romance in such detail as to indicate that it was drawn directly from La Cal-

[1] These five are listed respectively in our outline 8, 10, 13, 16, 18. The eighth is paralleled in *Cleopatra* where Tigranes refuses Artaban the right to dispose of Elisa and her mother. The tenth is paralleled in *Cassandra* by Roxana, who experiences similar difficulty with the hero; and cf. also *Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 295. The sixteenth is common enough in La Calprenède except for the added detail of the place of the execution—before the altar. This feature is introduced as local color. [In Heliodorus *Aethiopica* (pp. 256+) Theagenes and Cariclea are condemned to die as sacrifices before the altar.] The eighteenth is closely paralleled in *Cassandra* (p. 557), where Roxana sets the hero free and arms him.

prenède; this is the one listed as 13, where the wicked woman and the unscrupulous rival mutually protect the hero and heroine from death at the hands of the other.

For the wicked woman to attempt the life of the heroine, or for the unscrupulous rival to attempt the life of the hero is nothing unusual; in fact, these are the commonest of stock incidents. Nor is the motive back of the attempt unusual; either the wicked woman or the unscrupulous woman frequently attempts to force the love of the hero or heroine respectively by threatening the mistress or lover. But so far as I know La Calprenède in *Cassandra* was the first to weave the two together. In the management of the scene the play follows the romance closely. In both, the scene occurs in prison; the hero and heroine are prisoners; the unscrupulous rival draws his sword to kill the hero, and is prevented from killing the hero by the wicked woman's similarly threatening the heroine; the hero and heroine scoff at death for themselves, but fear it for the other; the wicked woman and the unscrupulous rival now change places, the one protecting the hero, the other the heroine; the scene closes with no one being hurt. Such sequences of detail could hardly be accidental.

The characters also are the stock characters of *Cleopatra* and *Cassandra*. In Montezuma we have the type of hero identical with Oroondates and Artaban—invincible, matchless, of dauntless spirit and ungovernable pride. His fortunes are those of Artaban rather than of Oroondates: he has been raised obscurely, ignorant of his high birth; as a free lance he goes from one side to the other carrying victory. The Inca is the counterpart of La Calprenède's obdurate ruler. Acaces is the stock generous rival carried to extremes; Traxalla is the unscrupulous rival, less fully developed. Zempoalla is the type of the unscrupulous woman rival for

the hand of the hero. And the heroine is the starry-eyed beauty, languishing, but courageous when need be, and faithful at all costs.

The Indian Emperor[1]

The Indian Emperor, which Dryden wrote as a sequel to *The Indian Queen*, was received even more favorably and ran through more editions. In the preface dedicating the play to Princess Anne, Dryden begins by saying, "The favour which Heroick Plays have lately found upon our Theatres, has been wholly deriv'd to them from the countenance and approbation they have received at Court"—a statement in the conventional, self-deprecatory vein, but possessing a certain element of truth. Dryden himself, however, was as much responsible as any other single writer for establishing the vogue of the heroic play.

In the prologue we are informed that

> The Scenes are old, the Habits are the same,
> We wore last year before the Spaniards came.

This is ridiculously apposite; the two plays are wonderfully alike, although not so much in the habits and scenes as in the situations and incidents. The types of characters are the same although of surprising descent. It is with no small astonishment that we identify our Artaban—hero of *The Indian Queen*—with the Montezuma of history. As soon as the machinery gets under way we discover the real

[1] The first edition was published 1667. The editions available to me were, 1668 (2d ed.), 1670 (3d ed.), 1681, 1686, 1692, 1694, 1696, 1703, 1709, 1710, 1732. The British Museum Catalogue enumerates the editions, 1667, 1668, 1670, 1686, 1703.

The title-page of the second edition (1668) reads: "The Indian Emperour, or, The Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards. Being the Sequel of *The Indian Queen*. By John Dryden Esq; The Second Edition.

> Dum relego scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno
> Me quoque, qui feci, judice digna lini.—OVID.

London, Printed for H. Herringman, at the Sign of the Blew Anchor in the Lower walk of the New Exchange. 1668."

Artaban in the character of Cortez, and our Statira-Cleopatra-Orazia, heroine under the dusky skin of an Indian princess.

The situations and incidents are as follows:

The main plot.—

1. The ruler is in love with the wicked woman.

2. The hero falls violently in love with the daughter of the ruler.

3. The heroine prevails upon the hero to exercise clemency toward the enemy.

4. The unscrupulous rival attempts treacherously to kill the hero.

5. The hero saves the life of the unscrupulous rival.

6. The hero humiliates the unscrupulous rival in a duel,

7. But courteously grants him his life when he has him at his mercy.

8. The hero kills the unscrupulous rival.

9. The hero is captured and imprisoned.

10. The wicked woman attempts to kill the hero but falls in love with him and cannot carry out her purpose.

11. The wicked woman stirs up the jealousy of the heroine by making love to the hero.

12. The wicked woman attempts to kill the heroine.

13. The heroine is saved by the hero.

14. The hero is rescued by his own men, who have been treacherously admitted to the prison.

15. The heroine is put into a tower by the hero for safe keeping.

16. The ruler is captured by the hero's forces.

17. The ruler is tortured.

18. The hero saves the ruler's life.

19. The ruler, facing ruin and realizing the perfidy of his mistress, the wicked woman, stabs himself.

20. The wicked woman in a tower-top within sight of the hero again attempts the life of the heroine.

21. The heroine is saved by fate, the wound proving not fatal.

22. The wicked woman stabs herself.

The subplot.—

1. The heroine is loved by two suitors, the hero and the unscrupulous rival.

2. The heroine promises her hand to the one who displays most courage in battle.

3. The hero is captured in battle.

4. He is freed by the hero of the main plot.

5. The heroine tempts her suitors to sacrifice honor for love. (*a*) The hero refuses; (*b*) The unscrupulous rival makes the sacrifice.

6. The unscrupulous rival joins with one of the enemy in a vow to help each other win the objects of their passion.

7. The unscrupulous rival captures the heroine and the hero.

8. The unscrupulous rival tries to force the hand of the heroine by threatening the life of the hero.[1]

9. The unscrupulous rival and his confederate discover the object of their passion to be one and the same woman, the heroine.[2]

10. The confederate kills the unscrupulous rival.

11. The hero kills the confederate.

In the notation of the composite romance the main plot will read: (1 not conventional); I; (3 conventional but not listed); XII 1; VIII; VII 3; VIII; VII 3; V 2; (10 not conventional); XI 2; XI 1; VII 4; (14 not conventional); IX 1 (with modifications); (16 conventional but not listed);

[1] Cf. *Cassandra*, 552 +; *Cleopatra*; Part II, p. 510, etc.

[2] Boyle in *Tryphon*, acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1668 (pr. 1669), uses the same situation with the characters Demetrius, Tryphon, Stratonice.

(17 not conventional); II 5; (19 not conventional); XI 1 (with modification); (21 and 22 not conventional).

In the main plot, then, fifteen of the situations and incidents are conventional with La Calprenède. Of the remaining seven, two are found in *Cassandra* or *Cleopatra*.[1] Of the remaining five all but one (Number 22) have parallels more or less close in *Cassandra* or *Cleopatra*. Number 14 is the commonest of conventional incidents except for the means used to secure admission to the prison. There is a torture scene in *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 438+. Number 19 is paralleled in *Cleopatra* Part II, p. 278, except for the detail of the perfidious mistress.[2] For the heroine to recover from a wound is not unusual.

Twelve of these are found in *The Indian Queen*. Number 22 is the only one common to the two plays not found in the romances.

In the subplot the initial situation and most of the incidents are conventional. The complication effected through making two unscrupulous rivals join forces to win the object of their passion not knowing that she is one and the same, has no original in *Cassandra* or *Cleopatra*.[3] The struggle between love and honor is of course a common heroic-romance theme;[4] Dryden introduced it into the subplot to ennoble the conduct of the hero of the main plot under similar temptation.

[1] These are numbers 1 and 10. Number 10 has been discussed above under *The Indian Queen*, 10. Number 1 has a parallel in the love of Alexander for Roxana in *Cassandra*.

[2] The incident, however, bears a much closer resemblance to the death of Traxalla in *The Indian Queen* (Act V, scene 1).

[3] Boyle in *Tryphon* acted in the following year (1668, printed 1669) used the same complication for the characters Demetrius, Tryphon, Stratonice. The characters in Boyle's play are for the most part the stock heroic-romance characters, and many of his incidents and situations are conventional.

[4] In *Cleopatra*, Part II, pp. 437+, there is a scene that approaches the scene in *The Indian Emperor* where Alibech tempts Guyomar.

The characters of *The Indian Emperor* are the stock heroic-romance characters already familiar to us through the pages of *The Indian Queen*. Montezuma, the hero of *The Indian Queen*, is translated into the obdurate ruler of *The Indian Emperor*. Cortez is the conventional heroic-romance hero; Cydaria is in all respects the conventional heroic-romance heroine; Almeria is the worthy successor to Zempoalla, her unscrupulous mother. In the subplot, Guyomar the hero, Odmar the unscrupulous rival, and Alibech the heroine, are sufficiently typical to need no introduction. These types soon appear again in Dryden's next play, *The Conquest of Granada*, and with renewed youth and increased enthusiasm perform similar exploits.

The Conquest of Granada

In 1670 there appeared at the Theatre Royal Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada*. In 1672 it was published,[1] and so great was the demand that the next year another edition appeared, and by 1704 it had run through its sixth edition.[2] The situations and incidents of the main plot are as follows:

1. The hero through misfortune reduced from his rightful rank falls violently in love with the protégée of the obdurate ruler.[3]

[1] The title-page of the first edition reads: "The Conquest of Granada By The Spaniards: In Two Parts. Acted at the *Theatre-Royall*. Written by John Dryden Servant to His Majesty.

Major rerum mihi nascitur Ordo;
Majus Opus moveo.—VIRG. *Aeneid* 7.

In the Savoy, Printed by T. N. for *Henry Herringman*, and are to be sold at the Anchor in the Lower Walk of the *New Exchange*. 1672."

[2] The editions in their order were: 1672, 1673, 1678, 1687, 1695, 1704; unless otherwise specified, the page references are to the first edition.

[3] The circumstances attending the falling in love are exactly those of *Cassandra* where Oroondates falls in love with Statira, whom he has captured, and those of *Cleopatra* where Artaban falls in love with Elisa, whom he has captured (cf. *Cassandra*, 7 +, and *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 217 +). The first view the audience has of the hero is where he involuntarily rushes to the aid of the weaker party in combat; this is La Calprenède's favorite way of introducing his heroes; in fact, all of his principal heroes are so introduced and many minor heroes.

2. The hero performs wonders: (*a*) in amusement contests;[1] (*b*) in single or mixed combats; (*c*) in battle; (*d*) in preserving the kingdom from ruin; (*e*) in rescuing the heroine from his unscrupulous rival.[2]

3. The hero scorns all rewards save the hand of the heroine.

4. The heroine's hand is denied him because of the promise of her hand to another.[3]

5. The hero is imprisoned.[4]

[1] The incident of the bull fight was probably suggested, as Langbaine claims, by Guzman's *Juego de Toros y Cannas*, the story of Ozmin and Doraxia, Part I, pp. 82 +. Amusement contests such as tournaments and gladiatorial combats are to be found in La Calprenède's romances. A curious criticism of this incident is found in a pamphlet published in 1673, *The Censure of the Rota*, written by Richard Leigh: "Amongst severall other late Exercises of the Athenian Vertuosi in the Coffee-Academy instituted by Apollo for the advancement of Gazette Philosophy Mercury's, Diurnalls, etc; this day was wholly taken up in the Examination of the Conquest of Granada; a Gentleman on the reading of the First Part, and therein the Description of the Bull-baiting, said, that Almanzor's playing at the Bull was according to the Standard of the Greek Heroes, who, as Mr. Dryden had learnedly observed [Essay of Dramatique poetry, p. 25] were great Beef-Eaters. And why might not Almanzor as well as Ajax, or Don Quixot worry Mutton, or take a Bull by the Throat, since the Author had elsewhere explain'd himselfe by telling us the Heroes were more noble Beasts of Prey, in his Epistle to his Conquest of Granada, distinguishing them into wild and tame, and in his play we have Almanzor shaking his chaine, and frightening his keeper p. 28. broke loose, p. 64. and tearing those that would reclaim his rage, p. 135. To this he added that his Bulls excell'd others Heroes, as far as his own Heroes surpassed his Gods: that the Champion Bull was divested of flesh and blood, and made immortal by the poet, and bellow'd after death; that the fantastique Bull seem'd fiercer than the true, and the dead bellowings in Verse, were louder then the living; . . . . a third went on and told them Fighting Scenes and Representations of Battells were as necessary to a Tragedy as Cudgells, and broken pates to a Country Wake; that an Heroick Poem never sounded so nobly, as when it was heightened with Shouts, and Clashing of Swords, and that Drums and Trumpets gain'd an absolute Dominion over the minds of the Audience: (the Ladies and Female Spirits)."

[2] Cf. *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 213–48, where Artaban under similar circumstances recaptures Elisa from Phraates.

[3] She is betrothed to the ruler himself. Under the same circumstances Artaban is refused Elisa because the ruler is in love with her (cf. *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 248 +).

[4] This time because of his audacious request. Earlier in the play he has been captured by the ruler. Time and again he is on the point of being captured. All of this is in the most approved heroic-romance vein.

6. He is freed through the intercession of the heroine,

7. But banished.

8. The hero has previously illustrated his prowess by changing sides;[1] now his mere absence is sufficient to bring defeat to the ruler.

9. The hero is brought back:[2] (*a*) through the need of his services; (*b*) through the demand of the people;[3] (*c*) through the command of the heroine.[4]

10. Through the gift of a scarf to the hero, the heroine increases the jealousy of the ruler.[5]

11. The hero further illustrates his prowess: (*a*) by rescuing the ruler from the enemy;[6] (*b*) by protecting the heroine.

12. The unscrupulous rival attempts to abduct the heroine.[7]

[1] The first time on the refusal of the ruler to free a captive, and a second time for the same reason. In the second case the captive is the heroine, and the hero returns to the side of the legitimate ruler to recapture the heroine from the usurping ruler. This course is closely paralleled by Artaban's conduct in *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 213–48. Dryden in his *Essay on Heroic Plays* prefaced to *The Conquest of Granada*, justified Almanzor by appeal to Homer and Tasso. As further justification, early in the play, we note that Almanzor has contracted the habit of changing sides before his appearance in Granada.

[2] With Part II the central situation is somewhat changed by the marriage of the heroine to the ruler. The situation in Part I more closely resembles the ground pattern of *Cleopatra;* in Part II, the pattern of *Cassandra*, where the heroine is married to the ruler.

[3] Cf. *Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 312, and *Cleopatra*, Part II, pp. 498–505; where Caesario and Artaban are in similar demand.

[4] The implicit obedience of the hero to every command of the heroine save where honor is involved is the stock trait of La Calprenède's heroes. Dryden had also in mind Achilles.

[5] In his presentation of a jealous husband Dryden was not influenced to any considerable extent by La Calprenède. In *Cleopatra* the jealousy of the hero is aroused through the stealing of a scarf from the heroine. The theme of the jealous husband is presented by La Calprenède in the following histories: Theander and Alcione (*Cassandra*, 218–37); Tyridates and Mariamne (*Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 1–32, 438–50); and Zenodorus (*Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 248).

[6] Oroondates rescues from drowning the husband of the heroine; cf. *Cassandra*, 99 +.

[7] Cf. above, this same synopsis, under 2*e*.

13. She is rescued by the generous suitor for the hand of the wicked woman.

14. The wicked woman: (*a*) makes love to the hero; (*b*) charges the heroine with adultery.[1]

15. The heroine is cleared of the charge: (*a*) by a trial-by-combat;[2] (*b*) by the dying confession of the unscrupulous rival.

16. The difficulties are solved by: (*a*) the death of the unscrupulous rival at the hands of the hero; (*b*) the death of the ruler killed in battle; (*c*) the death of the wicked woman; (*d*) the revelation of the identity of the hero.[3]

The incidents in the notation of the heroic romance will read: I; II 2 (modified); II 3, 4, 6, X 1; III; IV 3; V 2; VI 2; V 1; VII 2 (modified; cf. note on 8); VI 3, (9b and 9c, cf. note); (10, cf. note); II 5 (11b conventional); IX 2 (modified); (13 not conventional); XI 2 (modified); (14b cf. note); (15a, b, not in *Cassandra* or *Cleopatra*); VII 3, XIII 2, (16c not in *Cassandra* or *Cleopatra*); XIII 1.

Of these twenty-eight situations and incidents, seventeen fall into the conventional pattern; and, with slight modification, five more. Two additional ones have parallels in one or the other of the romances. Of the remaining four, one is not conventional but unimportant, and three are conventional with other romances, although not occurring in *Cassandra* or *Cleopatra*.

The outline as presented above includes the situations and incidents of the main plot which immediately concern the fortunes of the hero and heroine. In developing the main plot Dryden elaborated the character of the wicked woman

[1] In the story of Tyridates-Mariamne (*Cassandra*, 438–50), the wicked woman charges the heroine with adultery.

[2] This is no new device, but was not used by La Calprenède.

[3] Although this is a stock method of solving difficulties, Dryden is indebted for this incident to *Almahide*, the bloody-heart birthmark establishing the relationship.

by introducing additional incidents concerned chiefly with her character. Although these should be included in the main plot it has seemed best for the sake of clearness to list them separately.

1. The wicked woman is loved by two suitors, one generous, the other unscrupulous.[1]

2. She persuades the unscrupulous suitor by the promise of her hand to join an insurrectionist party in deposing his brother from the throne.[2]

3. The conspiracy failing, (*a*) the unscrupulous rival, repulsed, seeks to retrieve his fortunes by joining the Spanish against his brother; (*b*) the wicked woman takes refuge in a fortress outside the city.

4. The wicked woman plays fast and loose with her two suitors as one or the other gets the upper hand.[3]

5. The noble suitor, after making many sacrifices for the sake of his love, (*a*) kills his unscrupulous rival; (*b*) and disillusioned by her hardheartedness, turns against her.

6. The wicked woman accuses him of adultery with the heroine.

7. When he is cleared of this charge she betrays the town to the enemy.

8. For her perfidy she is made Queen of Granada, in which capacity she rules for a few moments gloating over her slaves.[4]

9. And over the noble suitor who has been captured.

10. The suitor stabs her.

11. And then himself.

[1] In this assignment Dryden has duplicated the portion of the heroine.

[2] This temptation is a modification of the theme of the sacrifice of honor to love. For a discussion of this see above *The Indian Queen*, subplot 5.

[3] Cf. *Almahide*, III, iii, 60.

[4] The brevity of her rule puts this in a class by itself. In Boyle's *Herod the Great*, probably written after *The Conquest of Granada*, the wicked woman rules an equally brief period.

The subplot presenting the story of the loves of Ozmyn and Benzayda has little bearing on the main plot, and it does not conform to the heroic-romance pattern. It is as follows:

The Subplot.[1]—

1. The hero[2] is in love with the daughter of a hostile house.[3]

2. The hero performs wonders: (*a*) in amusement contests; (*b*) in mixed combats.

3. The hero kills the brother of the heroine.[4]

4. The hero is captured by the hostile faction.

5. The heroine refuses to be his executioner.

6. The hero is saved by: (*a*) the turning of the tide of battle; (*b*) and by the heroine, who unbinds him and gives him arms.[5]

7. The lovers flee.[6]

8. They are captured by the Spanish.

9. The hero is saved from execution by the queen.

10. The hero protects the heroine's father from his own; The Spanish forces arriving he protects his own father from them.[7]

11. The heroine's father is captured by the hero's father. (*a*) The hero offers himself in exchange; (*b*) the heroine disguised as a man offers herself in exchange; (*c*) the heroine's

[1] The Ozmyn-Benzayda plot does not appear in *Almahide*. Some parts of it were taken from *Ibrahim*.

[2] Ozmyn, not Almanzor; the heroine is Benzayda.

[3] This is a variation of the conventional romance situation where the hero is in love with the daughter of the hostile ruler.

[4] In William Joyner's *The Roman Empress*, published 1671, the hero kills the heroine's twin brother.

[5] Cf. *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 311+; Part II, pp. 544+. In *Ibrahim* the daughter of the emperor saves the hero condemned to die.

[6] The flight of the lovers has a parallel in *Ibrahim*.

[7] Both Oroondates (*Cassandra*, 41) and Artaxerxes (*Cassandra*, 379) save the lives of the heroines' fathers hostile to them, and both take arms against their own fathers. Dryden has made more of filial love than La Calprenède.

father wishes to die to save the others;[1] (*d*) the hero's father is won over by their sublime spirit of self-sacrifice and yields consent to the union of the lovers.

12. The hero assists the hero of the main plot in the trial-by-combat.

La Calprenède uses a definite set of stock characters for his main and subordinate plots. In developing a full-fledged plot he begins with the set of characters immediately surrounding the hero, and enlarges by the simple process of duplicating this set; thus we find given to the heroine a generous and unscrupulous rival and a supporting heroine, who in her turn has a generous and unscrupulous rival, and if the plot will warrant, a supporting heroine of her own with attached generous and unscrupulous rivals. The supporting hero is fitted out in the same way with an obdurate ruler, a generous and unscrupulous rival, and possibly a supporting hero of his own, with attached obdurate ruler and a generous and unscrupulous rival. Dryden in *The Conquest of Granada* uses the same set of stock characters and builds up his set of characters in much the same way.

Almanzor had his beginning in the characters of Montezuma and Cortez.[2] This statement in no way contradicts Dryden's own assignment of the source of his hero to Achilles, Rinaldo, and Artaban, inasmuch as his acquaintance with

[1] Cf. *Cleopatra*, Part II, pp. 564 +, and Davenants' *Love and Honour* for similar scenes of cumulative self-sacrifice.

[2] Martin Clifford (*Notes upon Mr. Dryden's Poems in Four Letters*, London, 1687, p. 7) wrote: "But I am strangely mistaken if I have not seen this very *Almanzor* of yours in some disguise about this Town, and passing under another name. Prethee tell me true, was not this Huff-cap once the Indian Emperour, and at another time did he not call himself Maximne? Was not *Lyndaraza* once called *Almeria*, I mean under *Montezuma* the Indian Emperour? I protest and vow they are either the same, or so alike, that I can't for my heart distinguish one from the other."

(Clifford's criticisms are very biased and inferior, and here he has the names slightly mixed, but there is a certain point to his criticism.)

these three antedates the writing of the earlier plays. Dryden's words are:[1]

> I must therefore avow, in the first place, from whence I took the character. The first image I had of him, was from the Achilles of Homer; the next from Tasso's Rinaldo (who was a copy of the former), and the third from the Artaban of Monsieur Calprenède, who has imitated both.

In spite of Dryden's statement that he is more in love with Achilles and Rinaldo than with Cyrus and Oroondates it is perfectly evident that Almanzor more nearly resembles the latter than the former.

As we have already observed, Almanzor is introduced in the same way that La Calprenède's principal heroes are introduced—taking the part of the weaker side in a combat; and from the same motive, an inborn sense of honor. We are straightway informed of the hero that in a recent war,

> This, sir, is he, who for the elder fought,
> And to the juster cause the conquest brought.

And *Abdalla*, who is addressing the king, goes on to say that,

> Honour's the only idol of his eyes.

In addition to this fine sense of honor Almanzor possesses two other dominant traits, enumerated by Dryden in the dedicatory preface:[2]

> I designed in him a roughness of character, impatient of injuries; and a confidence in himselfe, almost approaching to an arrogance.

This roughness takes the form of fierceness inspiring awe and reverence in the hearts of his friends and paralyzing with terror his foes.[3] With a glance he controls factions uncon-

[1] *Essay on Heroic Plays* prefaced to *The Conquest of Granada*, Scott and Saintsbury ed. of 1883, Vol. IV, p. 26.

[2] First ed.

[3] Oroondates, the hero of *Cassandra*, possessed this quality to an extreme degree.

trollable by the king.[1] He bears two basilisks in his fierce eyes which frighten armies and control thrones. At his mere appearance foes melt away like dew before the sun. Even to those he loves his eyes are as lightning.[2]

He is impatient of restraint: when the guards move to seize him, he commands (Act I, scene 1, 1st ed., p. 8),

> Stand off; I have not leisure yet to dye.[3]

And this is his attitude toward all save the heroine. He addresses Boabdelin (Act V, scene 1, p. 58):

[1] Dryden defends this extravagance in the closing pages of the *Essay on Heroic Plays*.

[2] Act III, scene 1. First ed., p. 27, Almahide exclaims:

> Mark but how terrible his Eyes appear!
> And yet there's something roughly noble there,
> Which, in unfashion'd nature, looks Divine;
> And like a Gemm does in the Quarry shine.

And implores him,

> . . . . I beg the grace
> You would lay by those terrours of your face.
> Till calmness to your eyes you first restore
> I am afraid, and I can beg no more.

[3] When the king refuses to free his prisoner, he bursts out:

> He break my promise and absolve my vow!
> 'Tis more than Mahomet himself can do.

Chafing under the restraint of all-consuming love, he addresses Almahide (Act III, scene 1, p. 29):

> I wonnot love you, give me back my heart.
> But give it as you had it fierce and brave;
> It was not made to be a woman's slave:
> But Lyon-like has been in desarts bred
> And, us'd to range, will Ne're be tamely led.

He informs Boabdelin that (Act I, scene 1, p. 8):

> My laws are made but only for my sake.

He boasts to Abdalla (Act III, scene 1, p. 33):

> I am immortal; and a God to thee,
> If I would kill thee now, thy fate's so low
> That I must stoop 'ere I can give the blow
> But mine is fix'd so far above thy Crown,
> That all thy men
> Pil'd on thy back can never pull it down.
> But at my ease thy destiny I send,
> By ceasing from this hour to be thy friend.
> Like Heav'n I need but onely to stand still;
> And, not concurring to thy life, I kill,
> Thou canst no title to my duty bring:
> I'm not thy Subject, and my Soul's thy king.
> Farewell, when I am gone
> There's not a starr of thine dare stay with thee:
> I'le whistle thy tame fortune after me:
> And whirl fate with me whereso'ere I fly,
> As winds drive storms before 'em in the sky.

Accept great King, tomorrow from my hand
The captive head of conquer'd *Ferdinand*
You shall not only what you lost regain
But 'ore the *Byscayn* Mountains to the Mayn,
Extend your sway, where never Moor did reign.

We are comforted by the assurance of Abenamar—

What in another Vanity would seem,
Appears but noble confidence in him
No Haughty boasting, but a manly pride.

In these traits Almanzor resembles Artaban in detail. Artaban is the soul of honor. He possesses a certain "roughness of character"—in fact, we may continue with Dryden's words—"impatient of injuries; and a confidence of himselfe, almost approaching arrogance." As in the case of Almanzor the roughness is ascribed in part to his having been reared outside of the court[1] in obscurity. Artaban, like Almanzor, inspires fear by his terrible eyes; he controls armies with a glance, puts terror into the hearts of his foes, paralyzing them by his mere presence.[2] The

[1] Cf. p. 366, the passage beginning, "With truth I may say he nourished me like Achilles," etc.

[2] Cf. Vol. I, pp. 218, 224; Vol. II, pp. 90, 546. The hero of *Cassandra* possesses a majesty so sublime that although in prison and at the mercy of an unscrupulous foe his appearance saves him:

The Majesty of the Prince . . . . appear'd in so sublime a degree, that the affrighted *Cassander* thought he saw fire in his eyes and marks of Divinity in his face. And indeed he was so much dismai'd that his arm which he had lifted up, sunk down without effect, and he stood with his heart frozen by a thousand terrors.—(*Cassandra*, p. 551).

In *Cleopatra*, Part II, Caesario tells how, when weak and defenceless through the loss of blood, lying on the battlefield, he is threatened by a woman furious through the loss of her lover, his beauty causes the upraised dagger to fall from her hand.

When the king refuses to free the prisoners the hero has captured he insolently addresses the king (*Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 224):

Think not King of the *Medes, said he*, that I can either shrink at your threats, or be bought with those benefits wherewith you upbraid me: No, both the one and the other are too much below me, and so long as I carried this sword about me (that put the Crown upon your head and cut you out a condition to talk like a Master upon the King of *Parthia's* Territories, that a few months since had scarce a corner of your own to secure you) I shall teach it to defend me against all my Enemies; and gather fairer Flowers of Dignity and Honour in the wide field of the World, than any I can hope from such a King as you.

At the close of these words he turned his back upon the King without paying the least reverence to his person, and holding his hand upon the

first sight the heroine has of him impresses her—as Almahide at her first meeting with Almanzor—with "a natural fierceness" and with "the sparkling vivacity of his eyes."[1] He is impatient of restraint.

Not only in these general traits has Dryden imitated La Calprenède's hero, but in the manipulation of some of the scenes. Let us take, for example, the handling of the scene where the hero, having saved the kingdom from ruin, asks as his only reward the hand of the heroine.[2]

Artaban skilfully opens the interview by reference to his recent victories and boastful assurance of conquests in the future; and the king,

instructed by the proofs of a fortunate experience how capable he was to change his words into actions, listened to the same language from him, as he would have done to an oracle, which might have been interpreted from another mouth as the effects of a vain presumption.

Almanzor opens the interview in the same way and we are assured of the hero:

> You can perform, brave warrior, what you please
> Fate listens to your voice, and then decrees.

In both the play and the romance the king now deplores his inability to reward the hero adequately and begs him to name a gift in some measure worthy of such high desert.

guard of his sword went out of the Chamber with an action so terrible, as of all these that were near the King, there was not a man so hardy as to oppose his passage, or had courage enough to come near him.

Like Almanzor, "fierce as Libian Lyon to all besides," he is in the heroine's presence "ever gentle and submissive."

"Born to disesteem the whole world," he boasts to Phraates (*Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 246):

Sir, I do make you a promise of their ruine, to be paid in less than is requisite to take exact survey of their Provinces, and if I do not lay both these Crowns at your feet, before Time be two years older, blot out the name of *Artaban* from your memory, and call me Impostor.

[1] Cf. Vol. I, 218.

[2] The same occurs in *Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 246; in *The Conquest of Granada*, Part I, Act V (scene 2), p. 57 (in the first edition this act is not divided into scenes).

Artaban, unwilling to let so fair an opportunity escape him, replies,

> No, Sir, *said he*, I will not always dwell upon these terms of refusal, and if till now, by so long forbearing to ask recompence, I have pas'd in your thoughts for a modest man, I shall doubtless now, by demanding one of too high a value, incur the censure of an insolent; Sir, you have that at your disposal, that carries a capacity, not only of rewarding my former services (they are too cheap and worthless to give me any right to so rich a salary) but indeed of overpaying (like a great and bounteous king) all the rest that I am prepared to render you.

Almanzor replies in similar vein (*The Conquest of Granada*, 1st ed., p. 58):

> When I shall have declar'd my high request,
> So much presumption there will be confest,
> That you will find your gifts I do not shun;
> But rather much o'er-rate the service done.

Artaban continues (*Cleopatra*, Part I, p. 246):

> if I have rashly raised the wings of my desires that way, I do but take the just dimensions of your greatness,

a figure of speech which Dryden puts into the mouth of Boabdelin in his reply to Almanzor's speech last quoted above (1st ed., p. 58):

> Give wing to your desires, and let 'em fly
> Secure, they cannot mount a pitch too high.[1]

Boabdelin refuses the hero's request for the heroine, and continues (1st ed., p. 60):

> Dare not henceforth ungrateful me to call;
> What'ere I ow'd you, this has cancell'd all.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> My patience more than payes thy service past;

[1] Cf. also *Almahide*, III, iii, 73:

> Give all the swinge to your desires, as far as mortal wish can reach, they cannot soar too high a pitch.

But know this insolence shall be thy last.
Hence from my sight, and take it as a grace
Thou liv'st, and art but banished from the place.

—a speech which bears some resemblance to the speech of the king in the romance on this occasion (p. 247):

Say no more, said he, with a furious look, that I am ungrateful for the Services thou hast render'd me, and in lieu of that grand reward thy fancy hopes did aim at, receive thy life at the hands of my unmeritted mercy, which thy Insolence has forfeited: till now I never suffered reproach or menace from any mortal person, and thou alone hast put my patience to a proof, that would have been fatal to any other.

Almahide is an excellent copy of the heroines of La Calprenède; beautiful, highly serious, gentle, and languishing, she is, however, capable of heroic deeds. Furthermore, she possesses marked wifely constancy; in the possession of this last trait she differs from the heroine of *Almahide*, and follows rather the example of the heroine of *Cassandra*. La Calprenède's heroine, as Dryden's, was in love with the hero before her marriage to the ruler; after her marriage she gives to the ruler the full measure of wifely constancy, defending him to the hero, and rejoicing in the preservation of his life by the hero. Parisatis, the supporting heroine of *Cassandra*, is equally constant under similar circumstances. *Almahide* of the romance is anything but the type of wifely constancy; her constant attitude toward the ruler, her husband, was of rebellion. Her attitude is well displayed in the following letter to her lover, written after her marriage:

I am not Boabdelin's, but by constraint, and therefore while you observe your Engagements to me, I will be better than my word to you. I know it as much afflicts you to be out of that Company you were wont to enjoy, as it grieves me to want my Trusty Slave. However, lay next your heart as much of me, as

I can at present afford, till my Destinies have otherwise dispos'd of me. Do nothing that may injure yourself or me; but above all things, have a care of that Life, which is so precious to

ALMAHIDE

Lyndaraxa was probably originally intended to be the stock unscrupulous rival of the heroine, but this capable and fascinating woman develops so rapidly under the hand of the entranced author that she quite outstrips her type and challenges in interest the heroine herself. Dryden may have drawn some suggestions for this character from Cadige in *Almahide*;[1] but no one can read *The Indian Queen* and *The Indian Emperor* without feeling that the character had its beginning in the two wicked women, Zempoalla and Almeria, the latter especially having much in common with Lyndaraxa. In elaborating this character, Dryden gives her two suitors, one noble, the other unscrupulous.

Dryden[2] criticizes Davenant for scanting his images:

The Laws of an Heroick Poem did not dispence with those of the other, but rais'd them to a greater height: and indulg'd him a farther liberty of Fancy, and of drawing all things as far above the ordinary proportion of the Stage, as that is beyond the common words and actions of humane life: and therefore in the scanting of his Images, and design, he comply'd not enough with the greatness and Majesty of an Heroick Poem.

[1] She [*Cadige*] finding herself courted by the Prince of the Moors, and one that was in a fair way of dispossessing his Brother, in regard his Ambition was always contriving against him, as she was a Woman of a haughty and aspiring Spirit. Does *Andalla* court thee? said she to herself, wherefore then dost thou not submit to the Brother of a King? Is it because thou wouldst not be true to *Amat*? . . . . Is it not better to be a Queen and cease to love the inconstant *Amat*, than to be faithful, and continue only bare *Cadige*? Well, let him be King first.

When Andalla puts her the question (p. 61), "Were my Brother dead and I King would you then accept of my affections?" She replies: "I would accept of yours or any man's affection upon that condition."

She is as little troubled as Lyndaraxa at the news of the death of one of her suitors. At the close she happily marries Andalla.

[2] *Essay on Heroic Plays*, pref. to 1st ed.

There is no scanting of images or design in *The Conquest of Granada;* everything is sufficiently beyond the common words and actions of human life. In giving range to his fancy there is little restraint; he allows the utmost freedom, frequently passing the bounds of good taste ancient or modern. In the development of the plot he carries incidents through to the bitter end and wrings the last possibility out of every situation. Each morsel of emotion is rolled under the tongue until the final intoxicating drop of sweetness is drawn out. When the author mounts the winged steed of imagery there are gambols and cavortings marvelous and dizzying to behold.

Love is like a tempest that outrides the wind; a lethargy that seizes the will; it lures the unfortunate victim on to his ruin even as a skater sees the water near yet cannot stop himself in his career. Almanzor's falling in love is described by himself.[1]

> I'me pleas'd and pain'd, since first her eyes I saw,
> As I were stung with some *Tarantula*
> Armes, and the dusty field, I less admire;
> And soften strangely in some new desire;
> Honour burns in me, not so fiercely bright;
> But pale, as fires when mastered by the light.
> Ev'n while I speak and look, I change yet more;
> And now am nothing that I was before.
> I'm numm'd, and fix'd, and scarce my eyeballs move;
> I fear it is the Lethargy of Love!
> 'Tis he; I feel him now in every part:
> Like a new Lord he vaunts about my Heart;
> Surveys, in state, each corner of my Brest,
> While poor fierce I, that was, am dispossessed.
> I'm bound; but I will rowze my rage again:
> And, though no hope of Liberty remaine,
> I'll fright my Keeper when I shake my chaine.

[1] P. 28.

—where love is tarantula, a lethargy, a lord, and a jailor in rapid succession. A few lines farther on, love is a tempest, and then Almanzor discovers:

> I'm all o're love:
> Nay, I am Love; Love shot, and shot so fast,
> He shot himself into my brest at last.

Abdalla says of Lyndaraxa (1st ed., p. 23):

> Her tears, her smiles, her every look's a Net.
> Her voice is like a Syren's of the Land;
> And bloody Hearts lie panting in her hand.

In these excesses Dryden is following the heroic poems of the day rather than the heroic romances of La Calprenède.

In his use of a war background Dryden was following the prevailing heroic practice. The war situation he drew from *Almahide* III, 111.[1] For the use of supernatural agencies, such as the ghost, and the voice from heaven, precedents are not wanting in La Calprenède's romances, although there is no trace of indebtedness.[2] In the introduction of songs and the Zambra dance he was catering to the taste fostered by the contemporary stage. In the use of wit combats he was following the school of Scudéry rather than of La Calprenède.

With *The Conquest of Granada* the type of the heroic play was well established; the succeeding plays follow closely the same lines, the characters, situations, and incidents being repeated time and again with slight variation. Lee perhaps more than any other writer gave to the heroic play its popularity. Otway in two plays *Alcibiades* and *Don Carlos*

[1] Quinault uses the same situation in one of his plays which was translated and published in 1659 by Sir William Lower under the title, *The Noble Ingratitude*. It is curious to note that the play has two names in common with *The Conquest of Granada* neither of which is found in *Almahide;* these are Almansor and Linderache.

[2] In his *Essay on Heroic Plays*, Dryden defends the use of specters and magic, claiming, "for ought we know, they may be in nature." Cf. also *The Indian Emperor*, Act II, scene 1.

gave variety to the type by introducing a tragic conclusion. It would be interesting to note the stock situations and incidents in the whole group and enumerate their occurrence in each of the plays. However, in presenting the influence of La Calprenède it has seemed best to confine the discussion to those plays that present specific evidence of borrowings from *Cassandra* and *Cleopatra*. These plays we will discuss in the order of their appearance.

Herod and Mariamne

Three years after the appearance of *The Conquest of Granada*, there was acted at the Duke's Theater another play inspired by *Cleopatra*.[1] This play *Herod and Mariamne*[2] was written by Samuel Pordage, an author whose indebtedness to La Calprenède in a later play written in 1678—*The Siege of Babylon*—we shall note in its place. Although not published until 1673, the play was written some eleven years earlier, as we are told in the prologue to the 1674 edition:

> This play was pretty once for aught we know,
> When 'twas first writ, a dozen years agoe.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> A dozen years agoe, and in its prime;
> And n'ere launcht out till now.

No author is assigned in either the editions of 1673 or 1674. Settle, who was responsible for the staging and publishing

[1] Of the success of the play we learn from the preface to Fenton's *Mariamne*: "We have Reason to suspect this was of no great reputation because a merry Story is recorded of it." The story presents Rochester's advice to burn the play.

[2] The title-page of the first edition reads: "Herod and Mariamne. A Tragedy. Acted at the Duke's Theatre,

> Stulta est Clementia, cum tot ubique
> Vatibus occurras, perturae parcere chartae.—JUVEN.

London, Printed for William Cademan, at the Popes Head in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange in the Strand, 1673." Another edition came out the following year.

of the play writes in the "Epistle Dedicatory to the Princess Elizabeth Dutchess of Albemarle":[1]

. . . . the hasty Representation of it did not give me time to put a finishing hand to it, the first Copy of it being given me by a Gentleman, to use and form as I pleas'd, I humbly implore, that, what the present wants may be supplyed by the Zeal and Obedience of, etc.

There can be no doubt, however, as to the authorship, for Pordage in the title-page of *The Siege of Babylon* advertises himself as the author of the *Tragedy of Herod and Mariamne* (cf. below, footnote to p. 116).

The play follows the history of Tyridates and Mariamne in La Calprenède's *Cleopatra*, in situations, in incidents, minute details and phrasing.[2] It is doubtful that Pordage had ever seen Josephus, Philo-Judaeus, Eberus, or Egysippus: all the points which the play has in common with the histories are found in the romance; the points wherein the play differs from *Cleopatra* are not taken from history; and in the numerous places where Pordage departs from history he follows La Calprenède.[3]

[1] From the 1673 edition.

[2] Langbaine writes: "For the plot, I think the author has follow'd Mr. Calprenède's Cleopatra a Romance in the Story of Tyridates; but for the true History consult Josephus, Philo-Judaeus, Eberus, Egysippus, etc."

[3] Boyle and Fenton wrote plays on the same subject. Although Boyle was doubtless familiar with La Calprenède's romance, his play *Herod the Great* (published posthumously 1694) shows little trace of any influence. The two plots bear little resemblance, the characters do not strongly resemble those of the romance, and the hero is not drawn to the full heroic lines of La Calprenède's heroes. He exhibits little courage until the close where, in a fit of mad despair at the death of the Queen, he kills her murderer, the King. He is a pleasing character, but lacks the vigor and fierceness of the romance type. Mariamne of all the characters most nearly approaches the type of the romance: she is beautiful, languishing, yet proud and imperious. Although in love with the hero, she is faithful to her husband, whom she detests, even saving his life at the risk of her own. In the bounds of his wickedness the ruler falls little short of Lee's Nero. Salome strongly resembles Lyndaraxa of *The Conquest of Granada*.

Fenton's *Mariamne* by its lateness (1723) falls outside the bounds set for our discussion. It is interesting chiefly for a curious preface entitled: "The History of Herod and Mariamne collected and compiled from the best

With the connivance of Sohemus, Tyridates visits Mariamne and declares his love for her. Salome, the King's sister, persecutes Tyridates with her love, and, failing to win him, she sets about planning his ruin and that of Mariamne. On Herod's return she accuses Tyridates of being Mariamne's accepted lover, and Herod joins her in plotting the destruction of the innocent pair. Tyridates narrowly misses being poisoned and is forced to flee for refuge to a temple. Through the influence of a Roman legate he wins the privilege of leaving the kingdom unharmed. Sohemus reveals to Mariamne that Herod had commanded her death in case Herod did not return from his visit to Augustus; and in an unguarded moment Mariamne reproaches Herod with this cruelty, with the result that Sohemus is sent to the rack, and Mariamne to prison. This brings us to Act V. Thus far the action follows that of *Cleopatra*. From this point on, with the exception of the trial scene, which is copied from the romance, Pordage follows neither La Calprenède nor history. Mariamne is executed. Tyridates returns at once on hearing of this and kills Herod, he himself receiving his death wound.[1]

The extent of the author's indebtedness to La Calprenède may best be shown by citing a few parallel passages.

Historians and serving to illustrate the Fable of Mr. Fenton's Tragedy of that name." Under this head the writer has gathered several pages verbatim from La Calprenède's story of Herod and Mariamne in *Cleopatra*. Evidently he considered La Calprenède the best among the historians, for he quotes no other so copiously.

There is no good evidence that Fenton based any of his play on La Calprenède's account. He follows Josephus much more closely throughout. He does not introduce a lover for Mariamne. The King's jealousy is aroused by Mariamne's upbraiding him for his command to put her to death in case of his death in battle. This leads him to suspect Sohemus as a rival in the affections of the Queen. The use of the poisoned bowl to heighten the King's suspicions of his wife is taken from Josephus. It does not occur in La Calprenède.

[1] For this departure from history in hastening the death of Herod, Genest severely criticizes Pordage. It is interesting to note that Boyle used much the same conclusion in *Herod the Great*.

Herod and Mariamne	*Cleopatra* (Part I)

Mariamne expresses her attitude toward Herod, an attitude maintained throughout the play and the romance.

I, iii, p. 5[1]	P. 13
Mar. But yet that monster is my Husband still.	[*Mar.*] . . . . (as much monster as he is) he is yet my husband.

Tyridates, her lover, is more impatient.

I, iv, p. 8	P. 11
Tyrid. Oh, Gods! how can you thus unmov'd behold The best piece ever made of humane mold; The work of your own hands, giv'n up to be A subject for a Monster's Cruelty.	[*Tyrid.*] And can the *Gods* permit the most perfect piece that ever they put their hands to, to be given up to the Cruelties of such an Inhumane?
	P. 13
Now *Herod* is her Persecutor grown, I him no longer my Protector own;	[*Tyrid.*] Till now . . . . in the person of Mariamne's Persecuter I found my Protector; but at last, Madame, the resentments of what I owe him, have quitted what they held within me.

Tyridates disguised as a guard visits Mariamne in her prison chamber.

I, vi, p. 10	P. 12
(Stage directions) "Tyr. running to her Kneels" *Mar.* Defend me Heav'n, what's this I here behold! One of my Guard so Impudent and Bold!	[Tyridates telling the story] I fell upon my knees. . . . . The Queen finding this Action too familiar (and too passionate for a Guard) at first repulst me. Then recognizing him:

[1] The page references, unless otherwise stated, are to the edition of 1673.

Herod and Mariamne	*Cleopatra*
Tyridates, ha! what does your rashness mean? Do not you know 'tis Death to see the Queen? *Tyr.* Madam, I do: but dangers I defy, And I could wish them far more great, and nigh. I no occasion had till now to show How little I do value Life for you.	Ah! Tyridates, what mean you? To what a Danger have you exposed yourself? [*Tyrid.*] Danger, Madame, Ah! that the Gods would confront me with a thousand times more, that I might find occasion to show you how mean a thing I think my life in relation to your service.

Throughout this scene, the play closely paraphrases the romance. One more parallel must be quoted:

	P. 11
Tyr. Ah, wou'd the Gods! that *Tyridates* cou'd Buy off Your Sufferings Madame with his Blood: Or end Your Troubles with his Punishment, By all the Deaths that Herod could Invent. How fair would be my Fate to pay to you My Life; to whom all Hearts, all Lives are due:	[*Tyr.*] Ah, might it please the Gods, cried I, wholly transported, that your evils might be bought off with the cruellest death that Herod is capable of inventing, with what glad heart should I run to embrace those glorious torments—how fair would be my Destiny to pay down my life for this adorable Princess, to whom all Lives, all Hearts ought to be sacrificed!

Salome confesses her love to Tyridates in a picture gallery. After brief reference to the history of Pharaoh, David, and Solomon she proceeds:

II, iv, p. 18	P. 18
Salom. Whilst thus you pass your judgment Sir on them; Consider that yourself you do Condemn.	[*Salome*] You have said enough to convince yourself . . . . you should consider what you owe to Princesses,

Herod and Mariamne	*Cleopatra*
You to a Princess have appeared too Rude, And for true Love return'd ingratitude. Though she has left no Realms to visit you, Yet that which is more hard, she does pursue.	who ('tis true) have neither abandoned Realms, nor traversed Provinces to see you; but abandoned for your sake a Liberty more dear than Empires, ...

Thus the scene continues loosely paraphrasing the scene in the romance. Salome leaves in a rage threatening:

You'l be no more with such Discourses vext. And since you with affection are opprest, That Importunity shall be redres't:	Your perplexities shall no more be redoubled by a Discourse so disobliging; and since you are opprest with Affection, there shall be care taken to free you of that importunity.

Herod leaves Mariamne in a garden with Tyridates for her entertainment. As Herod departs Mariamne says:

III, i, p. 21	P. 16
Had *Herod* known, you did my Love pursue, He would not now have given my hand to you. And since you did to me your Thoughts commit, I ought my self too, to have hinder'd it. But that I judg'd I might without offence; Either to yours, or my own Innocence. Did I believe you harbour in your Breast A thought to my Dishonour I'de Detest You as a Monster, and my Mortal Foe.	If the King knew your intentions, he would not put me into your hands with so much confidence, and since they were known to me, I ought to have hindered it . . . . and probably I had too, if I had not believed I might permit your converse . . . . without interessing what I owe to him or to my self . . . . I did believe you could harbour a thought to my dishonour, I would look upon you as a Monster, as a Mortal Enemy.

The remainder of this dialogue follows the conversation of the romance. Salome entering, Tyridates scorns her and Mariamne speaks:

Herod and Mariamne	*Cleopatra*
III, i, p. 23	P. 19
Are you so Cruel then to Ladys grown!	Are you so cruel then to Ladies that love you?
. . . . .	[I] cannot countenance yours without incurring the same sin you condemn in *Salome.*
That sin which you in *Salome* condemne;	
Would you *Mariamne,* should in you esteem?	

Herod enters and, coldly received by Mariamne, commands:

III, i, p. 24	P. 17 (another scene)
Hence scornful Woman, from my Presence go:	Go, get you out of my Chamber, and if you do not remember the destiny of your Fathers, remember that I promise to make you know him for your King, whom you now scorn to acknowledge for your Husband.
Since not your Husband, you, your King shall Know:	
Your Fathers Destinies you do forget.	

Salome now stirs up the King's wrath against Tyridates:

III, i, p. 27	P. 24
'Tis not her Kindred's Blood moves thus her mind,	Her aversion doth not spring from a resentment for the death of her Kindred. . . . .
No; her disdain is of another kind.	That Rock so insensible to your Caresses, is not so unrelenting to others, for that Parthian . . . . does doubtless love her with better luck than you.
To you a Rock she unrelenting stands,	
Yet *Tyridates's* Love, her heart commands.	

In a fury Herod rushes to Mariamne's chamber; her great beauty calms him:

Herod and Mariamne III, ii, p. 28	*Cleopatra* P. 26
Herod. I that with horrid thoughts of Rigour came, Am of a suddain, how I know not, Tame. Sure 'tis not I—I am no Lyon now— The Furies humbly to that Sweetness bow.	those tempests which rage . . . . grew calm in a moment; of one terrible as a Lion, in a few minutes he became mild and tractable.

These parallels, chosen from many, illustrate Pordage's method. In passing, the reader might notice especially Pordage's paraphrase of Mariamne's letter to Tyridates (cf. *H. and M.*, III, iv; compare with *Cleopatra*, p. 27) of Tyridates' speech to Herod at the Temple gate (*H. and M.*, III, vi, p. 35, *Cleopatra*, p. 31); of Mariamne's speech to Tyridates when he visits her for the last time (*H. and M.*, IV, i, p. 38; *Cleopatra*, p. 32).

Herod's speech, when he learns of Mariamne's knowledge of his orders to kill her, illustrates well the close attention with which Pordage must have read the romance:

IV, ii, p. 42	P. 440
I am Betray'd! Undone! Those who my Trust into my Bosome drew, Forsake me and betray my Secrets too. To what Extremities am I reduc'd, By Slaves and a Disloyel Wife abused.	I am betrayed, I am undone . . . . all those whom I thought worthy of my friendship and my confidence, ingratefully unite themselves to ruine me. Ah! envious Heaven! Ah! disloyal Wife! Ah! ungratefull and perfidious Servants! to what extremities do you reduce me?

Act V departs from the romance. In Mariamne's trial scene, however, Pordage paraphrases *Cleopatra*. The speech of one of the judges will sufficiently illustrate his indebtedness:

Herod and Mariamne IV, ii, p. 53	*Cleopatra* P. 443
Madam! we know What to your Birth and quality we owe: Which hitherto we with respect have paid. The King on us has this Injunction laid: To whom it is our Duty to obey; And you as well as we should homage pay: You'l guilty seem, if you do this refuse. Queens ought to clear themselves when Kings accuse.	We have rendered what we owed to your birth and quality, as long as it hath pleased the King to permit us and we have not sought an employment which yet we could not refuse, when he was pleased to lay it upon us: but seeing that by his absolute will we have been appointed to it, and that the authority which you have had over us, ought to submit to his, you will not find it strange, if it please you, that we examine you upon the accusations which he himself lays against you.

Mariamne's speech before she is led away to execution closely paraphrases that in the romance:

V, iii, p. 57	P. 447
Mar. The blood of *Philon* and *Sohemus* shed, Will pull down Vengeance on his guilty head: And if my Death is stain'd by any guilt, 'Tis 'cause imprudently their blood I spilt. For *Tyridates*, I confess 'tis true, I render'd what was to his Vertue due. Acknowledgments and Innocent esteem, And that was all I ever gave to him.	Tell him that the blood of *Joseph* and *Sohemus*, which he hath shed, will cry for vengeance against him: and that if I be culpable at my death, it is because, that by my imprudence, I have caused the ruine of those innocent persons: As for *Tyridates*, I thank God, I feel no remorse of conscience that can accuse me of the least fault against my Husband, and I hold no other thoughts for his person but of acknowledgment and esteem as due his vertue.

Pordage has copied without change the names and traits of La Calprenède's characters. Tyridates has taken on some of the traits of Artaban; and Salome is considerably heightened. If as the author claims the play was written in 1662, Salome is distinctly the predecessor of Lyndaraxa. Otherwise the characters are those of the romance.

Gloriana[1]

In 1676 *Gloriana* was acted at the Theatre Royal. This was the third of Lee's plays.[2] The two preceding—*Sophonisba* and *Nero*—are treatments of historical subjects in thoroughly romantic fashion.[3]

Lee wrote plays drawn from three of La Calprenède's romances, *Cassandra*,[4] *Cleopatra*,[5] and *Pharamond*,[6] and in nearly all of his plays there are signs of the influence of the French romancer.[7] *Gloriana* was the first of his plays, however, indebted in a marked degree to La Calprenède. This,

[1] First published 1676. The title-page of the first edition reads:

"Gloriana, or the Court of Augustus Caesar, Acted at the Theatre-Royal, By Their Majesties Servants.

Quibus haec, sint qualiacunque
Arridere velim, doliturus si placeant spe
Deterius nostra.—HOR. *Sat.* 10.

By Nat Lee, London.

Printed for *J. Magnes* and *R. Bentley*, in *Russell-street* in *Covent-Garden*, near *Piazza's*, Anno Dom. MDCLXXVI.

Other editions were published in 1699, 1734.

[2] The title-page of the 1699 edition of *Gloriana* has at the bottom a list of "the works of Mr. Nathaniel Lee, in the Order they were written, viz—*Sophonisba; or Hannibals Overthrow, Nero, Gloriana; or the Court of Augustus Caesar, Alexander THE Great, Mithridates King of Pontus, Theodosius; or the Force of Love, Caesar Borgia, Lucius Brutus, Constantine, Oedipus King of Thrace, Duke of Guise, Massacre of Paris, Princess of Cleves.*"

[3] Lee makes temperate Scipio fret and rave
And Hannibal, a whining Amorous Slave.

[4] *The Rival Queens.*

[5] *Gloriana.*

[6] *Theodosius, or the Force of Love*, acted at the Duke's Theatre, 1680.

[7] La Calprenède's influence is most pronounced in the earlier plays ending with *Theodosius*, 1680. *Lucius Junius Brutus*, 1681, was influenced by Scudéry's *Clelia; The Princess of Cleve*, by Madame de la Fayette's *Princess of Cleves.*

as all the plays influenced by La Calprenède up to this time, was from *Cleopatra*. Langbaine[1] writing of the source says, "The Plot I take to be rather founded on Romance than History, as the Reader will find by comparing the Play with the Romance of *Cleopatra*, in the several Stories of *Caesario, Marcellus and Julia;* Part 1 Book 3. Part 5 Book 3. *Ovid, Cypassis and Julia*, Part 7 Book 3."

In the handling of the story, however, Lee shows slight dependence on his source; he exercised as much freedom as with the historical material of the two earlier plays *Nero* and *Sophonisba*. The completed play resembles no plot in all La Calprenède. There is, to be sure, a Caesario in *Cleopatra*, who bears marked resemblance to the hero of the play, and Gloriana bears even more resemblance to Candace the heroine of the Caesario story in *Cleopatra;* but their fortunes are widely diverse and their end far different: in *Cleopatra* the hero and heroine are happily married; in *Gloriana* they suffer death. Marcellus is the Marcellus of the romance ridiculously exaggerated, but Julia is hardly recognizable: in the romance she is simply inconstant, in the play reflections are cast upon her morals; in the romance she is unmarried and in love with the hero, in the play she is married to Marcellus and nothing is said of her love for the hero. As for the plot the hints he gathered from La Calprenède were for separate incidents and situations rather than for the story as a whole.

The important incidents and situations of *Gloriana* are as follows:

1. The hero, enemy to the ruler, and supposedly dead, returns to the court of Augustus and is captured. (This follows the Caesario-Candace story in *Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 485.)

[1] *An Account of the Dramatic Poets*, p. 322.

2. The hero is condemned to die. (This follows the romance *Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 544.)

3. The hero falls suddenly and violently in love with the heroine. (This clearly follows the conventional lines rather than the romance; in *Cleopatra*, Caesario renders his arms to Candace's triumphant beauty when she is eleven years old.)

4. The heroine, captive to the ruler, spurns his advances; he tries to force her to marry him. (Lee has here assigned to Augustus the rôle played by Tiribasus in the romance, *Cleopatra*, Part I, 175. Tiribasus usurps the throne of Candace and tries to force a marriage. The Augustus of the romance is at no time in love with Candace. From here to the close the ruler is drawn from Tiribasus rather than from Augustus.)

5. The hero rescues the heroine from the ruler. (This follows the romance, *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 203+, the ruler still in the rôle of Tiribasus.)

6. The hero and the heroine are recaptured by the ruler. (Here Lee departs from the romance; the heroine is recaptured in *Cleopatra*, Part I, pp. 206+, but by the pirate Zenodorus, not by the ruler.)

7. All attempt by sacrifice to save the life of the hero:

a) The hero's friend. (This is taken from the main plot of *Cleopatra*, where Marcellus offers to sacrifice himself for Coriolanus—Part II, p. 565—as is the rest of this scene, where each wishes to sacrifice himself for the others, and where other members of the court plead for the hero. This is, however, conventional; cf. *The Siege of Rhodes*, and *The Conquest of Granada*.

b) The lovelorn maiden sues successfully for the life of her hero. (This is apparently invented by the author.)

c) The heroine offers to marry the ruler to save the hero's life.

8. The lovelorn maiden slanders the heroine and reproached by the hero dies of a broken heart. (This is not in the romance.)

9. The friend of the hero, crazed with grief at his sister's death, threatens the hero; reproached by the hero he dies of a broken heart. (This is not from the romance.)

10. The hero hastens to Augustus' chamber, where the heroine, dagger in hand, is awaiting the ruler's coming. (This is not from the Caesario story of *Cleopatra.*)[1]

11. The heroine accused by the hero of infidelity kills herself. (This is not from the romance.)

12. The ruler enters and kills the hero. (In the romance the hero kills Tiribasus.)

As for the plot, then, Lee is not greatly indebted to his source: the first three acts present a radical working-over of some of the incidents and situations of the Caesario story, but the last two acts follow the story not at all, the end being tragic as in nearly all of Lee's plays. Nor is there any marked indebtedness of phrasing. Occasionally, however, a passage stuck in Lee's memory, and was carried over into the play; such is the following, where the hero addresses the ruler:[2]

Gloriana, p. 3	*Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 486
I am by birth what you adopted are	You are only by adoption what I am by birth

But there is no dependence on the text of *Cleopatra;* Lee probably never consulted the romance during the course of the writing of the play.

The characters of *Gloriana* are more or less the stock characters familiar to us in the pages of *The Conquest of*

[1] Cf. *Pharamond*, Part I, p. 270 and Part II, p. 134; *Pharamond* was not translated, however, until the following year. Rowe in *The Ambitious Step-Mother* presents a somewhat similar scene when Amestris stabs Mirza when he attempts to force her.

[2] The scene and circumstances are the same in both.

Granada. Caesario is the invincible, boastful hero of the Artaban-Almansor type. Like these he has been reared outside of court:[1]

> A Souldier, Fair one, bred to bloud, in Arms,
> In Winter Camps which mighty Action warms;
> I know not Courts, unskill'd in the soft trade
> By which address is to high Beauty made:

He tells her friends,[2]

> Ev'n in my childhood I was more than man,
> Bears in my Non-age slew, and Stags out-ran.

He continues to tell her how he killed a lion, thus saving his mother's life; and his friend Leander not responding with sufficient enthusiasm, he replies,

> Fall! by my valour! saw him! is that all?
> Thou speaks't *Leander* as thou didst repine;
> Thou shouldst have said, it was an act Divine,
> A God-like act, to see a ruddy Boy
> With milk on's lips, the Royal beast destroy.
> With my gay Sword, brandish'd above my Crest,
> O'respread with Plumes, and with Queens favours dress'd
> I cros'd the Savage, eager for his prey,
> Who daunted with my aspect shun'd the fray:
> But I out-run him, though he got the start
> And flesh'd my little Rapier in his heart.

This mighty slayer of beasts is insolent and defiant to the ruler, when captured, and even defies love, imploring Heaven never to forgive him if he yields. But when he meets the heroine, although "with eyes quick rouling flame" the presence that daunted lions inspires her with awe, he himself cries out:[3]

> Why beats my heart as I had poison ta'en?
> What means my burning breast and giddy brain?
> Swift thrilling cold with panick terrour flies,

[1] Act II, p. 15, first edition. [2] Act II, p. 10, first edition.
[3] Act III, p. 30, first edition.

And an unsual thaw dissolves my eyes;
If Love thou art, I will not take the wound,
My Armour shall thy pointed darts confound;
I'le draw 'em, if they cannot be withstood;
Though to the Feathers drinking in my blood;
Then shake 'em at her eyes with fix'd disdain,
And Hurl 'em to thy Godhead back again.

Gloriana is the stock bright-eyed heroine, beautiful, languishing, but filled with dauntless courage. The hero describes her:[1]

But sure so bright a flow'r on Earth ne're grew:
Her lips, her cheeks must more than Roses be;
What Stars her eyes, what moving Majesty?
So sweet and so imperious too they move,
Sparkling with beauty, Glitt'ring all with Love.

And later,[2]

more fair then the red mornings dawn,
Sweeter then Pearley dews that scent the lawn;
Then blue ey'd Violets, or the damask Rose,
When in her hottest fragrancy she glows.
And the cool West her wafted odour blows.[3]

She is utterly without fear of death, openly defying Augustus; she even longs for death:[4]

Methinks I long in those dark walks to tread,
And wrap my self about with honour'd Lead,
Where all the Worthies of the Earth lye dead,
Nor shall my Spirit in that pond'rous case
Be kept, but shoot as rays through Chrystal pass;
Through doors of death, with Mountains pil'd on Rocks,
With thousand Bars, and with ten thousand Locks,
Like Lightning she shall cut her sacred way
Through all, and rise to everlasting day.

[1] Act III, p. 29, first edition.
[2] Act IV, p. 45, first edition.
[3] Cf. *Twelfth Night*, opening lines.
[4] P. 36.

She is very cool as she waits, dagger in hand, the arrival of Augustus. And after she has stabbed herself she finds death less dreadful than the angry brow of the hero.

Marcellus is borrowed from the main plot of *Cleopatra*. He is the type of the generous friend carried to absurd extremes.

Narcissa is the conventional lovelorn maiden but possessed of more spirit than most of her type. She faces Gloriana furiously:

> But I will be reveng'd, to pieces tear
> Those borrow'd eyes, and that inchanted hair.

And in the end she dies with a lie on her lips unflinching, unrepentant, longing as her heaven that which alone can give her soul lasting peace—the love of the hero.

Augustus is drawn from the character of Tiribasus rather than from history or than from the Augustus of the romance. He is a favorite type with Lee: nearly all of Lee's rulers are unscrupulous, lustful, and in love with the heroines; in *Mithridates* the king is in love with both of his son's mistresses.

In the prologue to *Nero*[1] Lee wrote,

> 'Tis a fine Age, a tearing thundering Age,
> Pray Heav'n this Thund'ring does not crack the Stage.

Just how much of Lee's thundering was due to the age and how much to his own taste is hard to determine; both were in part responsible. As a young writer seeking money and reputation he naturally would pander to the styles most in vogue. To this tendency he was impelled also by the example and outspoken encouragement of Dryden.[2] Furthermore, he possessed a natural impetuosity and fervor of temperament that made the assuming of a high heroic style very easy. The young man who threw himself headlong into

[1] First edition, 1675.

[2] Cf. below, p. 113.

the dissipation of the fast set of London discovered the riotous vein of the heroic style much to his liking. Thus we find a certain naturalness and ease that approaches poise in his most extreme outbursts, and, when he chooses to exercise restraint, a simple dignity that is delightful. The opening lines of *Gloriana* set the level of the style:

> Vast are the Glories, *Caesar*, thou has won,
> To make whose Triumphs up, the World's undone:
> The *Indians* from the Eastern parts remote,
> To thee the Treasure of their Shrines devote:
> Whole Trees of Coral, which they div'd for low,
> That in the walks of *Neptune's* Palace grow,
> With Tritons trumpeting on ev'ry bough;
> Pearls which the morning eyes of *Thetis* pay,
> When her cool'd Lover bolts through waves away;
> And Diamonds that the Sun each morning sheds,
> Driving his Chariot o're their sooty heads.

And from this level he drops only at rare intervals. Figures of speech are frequent: Augustus is compared to a lion five times; Caesario speaking of the rescue of the heroine from Augustus says (p. 35):

> I from the den of an old Beast of prey
> Snatch'd, while abroad he did for forage stray,
> By this he is return'd, and finds her gone;
> By this the Groves resound, and Forests groan.

The figures are often sustained through many lines as in the following, where Caesario addresses his friend (p. 12):

> Revenge and Friendship in my bosom clash'd,
> Like Mountain billows, each the other dash'd;
> Still my uncertain soul each Tempest blinds
> Like a dark vessel driv'n by Polar winds:
> But you like a propitious God arise,
> On the blue Ocean shine the Azure Skies,
> And now the beaten mind at Anchor lies.

Marcellus replies:

Methinks I wish that I had never known
Vertue like yours; so high, that mine is none:
You as some vast Hill touching Heav'n appear;
I at your feet like a poor Valley near:
Down from your cloudy top refreshings flow,
Fast bounteous rills, that water me below:
Valleys; but Vapours can to Heav'n return,
And I with sighs your falling favours mourn.

And he delights in balancing his figures; thus Caesario upbraids Gloriana:[1]

I came to seek for painted vertue here,
For one exceeding false, exceeding fair;
For one whose breast shone like a Silver cloud,
But did a heart compos'd of Thunder shrowd;
For one more weeping than the face of *Nile*,
Whose liquid Chrystal hides the Crocodile;
For one who like a God from Heav'n did pour
Rich rain, but lust was in the golden showr;
For one who like *Pandora* beauteous flew,
But a long train of curses with her drew;
For one who like a Rock of Diamonds stood,
But hemm'd with death, and universal flood.

At times the figures become grotesque as in the following (p. 2):

And *Crassus*, who like some large Oak had stood
The brush of warring winds, and showrs of blood,
His Army round him like an underwood;
These Martial Rangers root and branches tore,
And on their Crests his trickling heart strings wore.

or again, Caesario speaking (p. 36):

All! Hell-hound, all art thou resolv'd to have?
But tast my heart, 'tis Royal, rich and good,
Each drop's more worth than Tuns of Vulgar blood.
Cannot th' exhausted shore for once suffice?
I'le make it up with Rivers from their eyes;
Tears will not make him drunk, the Slave replies.

[1] P. 59.

This is Lee at his worst; in *Gloriana* he rarely touches his best, and the play never achieved any marked popularity. If Lee had stopped here, Addison would never have said of him, "Among our modern English poets there is none who is better turned for tragedy than Lee."

The Rival Queens[1]

For the material of his next play Lee turned to a subject treated by La Calprenède in *Cassandra*. Although written after *Cassandra*, *Cleopatra* had up to this time been most copied by the playwrights largely it may be supposed through Dryden's example. In the tremendous success, however, of Lee's *The Rival Queens*, brought out at the Theatre Royal in 1677, *Cassandra* came into its own, and three other plays based on the main plot of this romance now followed in rapid succession. Thèse were Bankes's *Rival Kings*, 1677, Pordage's *Siege of Babylon*, 1678, and Cooke's *Love's Triumph* 1678.[2]

[1] "The Rival Queens, Or The Death of Alexander The Great. Acted at the Theatre-Royal. By Their Majesties Servants. By Nat. Lee, Gent. London, Printed for *James Magnes* and *Richard Bentley*, at the Post-house in Russel-street in *Covent Garden*, near the *Piazza's*, 1677." Other editions used were those of 1677, 1684, 1690, 1694, 1699, 1702, 1704, 1768, 1785, 1793, 1805, 1808, 1811, 1815, 1818, 1832. Unless otherwise specified the page references are to the first edition, 1677.

[2] Another play, Crowne's *Darius King of Persia* (pub. 1688), is on the same subject. There are many speeches that conform almost word for word to passages in *Cassandra*. In every case, however, where this is true both the play and the romance follow Curtius (cf. *University of Nevada Studies*, II, 3, p. 46). Crowne assigns as his source Curtius. He apologizes for leaving out Statira and her two daughters, "well known to the World, whose misfortunes would have probably mov'd more compassion, than those of a strange Lady, obscurely descended from my Fancy, which I have introduc'd in their stead." And he gives as his reason for the omission: "But when I first contriv'd and writ this Play, my Judgment was overborn by some I much regard; who told me, those Princesses had been already seen very often, their Beauties would now seem stale, and a new Face be more agreeable." The reference here probably is to the presentation of the princesses by Lee, Bankes, and Pordage. Cf. dedicatory epistle, 1688 edition: "I find him in Curtius, a prince of valour, clemency, justice, and great moral virtues," etc., referring to Darius.

In the scintillating array of heroic plays of this period *The Rival Queens* was easily the brightest jewel; for one hundred and fifty years its radiance dazzled the eyes of admiring audiences. Colly Cibber said of it in his autobiography: "There was no one tragedy for many years more in favour with the town than *Alexander*," but ascribes the success of the play to the merit of the actors,[1] especially to Betterton whom he praises highly.[2]

"For the plot," Langbaine writes, "as far as the author has follow'd History, Consult *Arrian; Q. Curtius; Plutarch's Life of Alexander; Justin lib.* 11, 12. *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 17 and 18. *Josephus lib.* 11. *cap.* 8." These references are to historical accounts of some of the incidents of the play. An examination of these shows that Lee was indebted to only one of the accounts, that of Plutarch. Sidney Lee (D. of N.B.) says, "De La Calprenède's novel *Cassandre* seems to have suggested some of the scenes." It did—or to be exact—Sir Charles Cotterell's translation furnished some suggestions for the principal plot and the outline for the subplot together with some of the phrasing.

The main plot recounts Alexander's tribulations as the husband of two wives, Statira and Roxana, tells briefly of his tyrannical punishment of those who in any way opposed him,

[1] "To what must we impute this its command of public admiration?" he asks. "Not to its intrinsic merit surely, if it swarms with passages like this I have shown you. If this passage has merit, let us see what figure it would make upon canvass—what sort of picture would rise from it. If Le Brun who was famous for painting the battles of this hero, had seen this lofty description, what one image could he have possibly taken from it? In what colors would he have shown us 'glory perched upon a beaver'? How would he have drawn 'fortune trembling'? Or, indeed, what use could he have made of 'pale fates,' or immortals riding upon billows, with this blustering god of his own making at the head of them? Where then must have lain the charm that since made the public so partial to this tragedy? Why, plainly in the grace and harmony of the actor's utterance."

[2] In expression of his contempt for the play he wrote a burlesque called *The Rival Queans with the Humours of Alexander the Great, a Comical Tragedy*, a one-act play performed on June 29, 1710. This is wholly lacking in merit and pointless.

and ends with his death and that of Statira. This is not at all the story as handled by La Calprenède. In *Cassandra*, Oroondates is the hero; it is through a bit of treachery that Statira is married to Alexander; both she and Roxana are in love with Oroondates, not with Alexander. Lee, by omitting Oroondates, shifts the affection of the two women to Alexander thus greatly heightening the jealousy between the two. In the romance Statira is not killed—a slave being killed in her place. It would seem that Lee followed history rather than La Calprenède, and yet there are certain indications which will be taken up shortly pointing to the influence of *Cassandra*. In the subplot the influence is at once apparent. Lysimachus is in love with Parisatis who is promised by Alexander to Hephestion. Lysimachus fights with his rival and for this and his temerity in frankly claiming Parisatis against the wishes of Alexander he is condemned to fight in single combat with a lion. In this combat he is successful, and for his bravery he is pardoned and given an equal chance for Parisatis. Hephestion fortunately dies and Lysimachus claims the lady of his heart's desire. This is practically the story as given by La Calprenède, and with the exception of the lion episode is not found in history. A few parallels will show how closely Lee follows his source, the romance.

Lysimachus' request of King Alexander for Parisatis is a fairly close rendering of the original.

The Rival Queens, II, p. 20	*Cassandra*, p. 136
Lysimachus opens his speech with	
E're you remove be pleas'd, dread Sir, to hear A Prince ally'd to you by Blood.	I come, Sir, to beg of your Majesty, what a Prince who hath the honour to be of your blood hopes he may obtain.

The Rival Queens	*Cassandra*
Lysimachus continues his argument:	
I never fail'd to obey your Majesty, Whilst you commanded what was in my power, Nor cou'd *Hephestion* fly more swift to serve, When you commanded us to storm a Town, Or fetch a Standard from the Enemy, But when you charge me not to love the Princess, I must confess, I disobey you, as I wou'd the Gods themselves, should they command.	I never failed of my obedience to your Majesty, while you required no other proofs of it, but such as were within my power; and *Hephestion* never obeyed you more readily than I, whenso're you commanded us to assault a wall, or charge into a Battalion; when you forbad me to love *Parisatis*, I confess I disobeyed you, as I should have done the Gods themselves, if they had imposed the same command upon me.
Alexander replies:	
In the mean time think not of *Parisatis:* For if thou dost, by *Jupiter Ammon*, By my own Head, and by King *Philip's* Soul, I'le not respect that Blood of mine thou shar'st, But use thee as the vilest *Macedonian*.	In the mean time I forbid you . . . . ever to look upon *Parisatis;* and I protest to you by Jupiter *Hammon*, and by the soul of King *Philip*, that if you disobey what I command, by all the authority I have over you, I will have no respect at all unto your birth, but will submit you to the severity of our Laws, as the meanest *Macedonian*.

At the point where Alexander commands the guards to take Lysimachus prisoner, Lee follows La Calprenède closely. If he did not write with the romance before him, he certainly carried to the writing a vivid recollection of it, as the following parallels will indicate.

The Rival Queens, p. 25	*Cassandra*, p. 141
Alexander. I charge you, kill him not, take him alive; The dignity of Kings is now concern'd, And I will find a way to tame this Beast.	. . . . commanding me to be taken alive . . . . he said thus. . . . . The dignity of all Kings is concerned in my affront. . . . . I will find out punishments which shall be able to tame this rage . . . . .
Sure we, at last, shall conquer this fierce Lion: Hence from my sight, and bear him to a Dungeon: *Perdiccas* give this Lion to a Lion.	Lysimachus is a Lyon, but we will use him like a Lyon, and shall perchance be able to quench this fierceness. After these words he commanded I should be carried to the dungeon . . . . (and later p. 142) Lysimachus (saies he) braves us like a Lion; but we have tamed both Lions and Elephants, and will make his grave in the bellies of those beasts he imitates.

In the messenger scene, where Clytus and Hephestion tell of the combat between Lysimachus and the lion, Lee follows La Calprenède very closely:

The Rival Queens, p. 45	*Cassandra*, p. 143
Heph. Unarm'd all but his hands, on which he wore A pair of Gauntlets; such was his desire, To shew in death the difference betwixt The bloud of the *Aeacides*, and common men.	. . . . let one of your Guards lend me but his Gantlets" . . . . "my intention but onely to give you . . . . some knowledge of the difference there is between Lysimachus and ordinary persons
Clytus. At last the door of an old Lyons den	. . . . The door of a little room where he was kept, being

The Rival Queens	*Cassandra*
Being drawn up, the horrid Beast appear'd:	drawn up, that fierce creature no sooner saw the light, but he came out of his Den,
Heph. When we arriv'd, just as the valiant Prince	
Cry'd out, O *Parisatis* take my life,	O *Parisatis!* (cryed I) receive this noble sacrifice
Clytus. Then walking forward, the large Beast descry'd	
His prey, and with a roar that made us pale,	I had not made an end of these words when the Lyon flew at me so fiercely, and so suddenly, that I had much ado to avoid the first encounter;
Flew fiercely on him; but the active Prince	. . . . .
Starting aside, avoided his first shock,	
With a slight hurt, and as the Lyon turn'd,	
Thrust Gauntlet, arm and all into his throat,	but seeing his jaws open and frothy with foam and blood, I chopp'd my hand suddenly into his throat; my Gauntlet defended me from his teeth
And with *Herculean* force tore forth by th' roots	. . . . I took him by the tongue
The foaming bloudy tongue; and while the Savage,	. . . . I tore it out by the very roots: The Lyon lost his strength by the extremity of that pain, and discharging the rest of his rage against the Earth, which he dig'ed up with his teeth, and watred with his blood, he gave me the leisure to beat his skull in pieces with my Gauntlets.
Faint with that loss, sunk to the blushing Earth	
To plough it with his teeth, yon conqu'ring Souldier	
Leap'd on his back, and dash'd his skull to pieces.	

La Calprenède got the suggestion of this remarkable method of killing a lion from Justin[1] whose account runs as follows:

[1] Justinus: *Historiae Philippicae.* lib. XV. Cap. 3. Frotscher ed., 1827. The incident is barely referred to by Plutarch, *Demetrius* (Clough ed., V, 122);

Quod adeo aegre Alexander tulit, ut eum abiici ferocissimo leoni juberet. Sed cum ad conspectum eius concitatus leo impetum fecisset, manum amiculo involutam Lysimachus in os leonis immersit, abreptaque lingua, feram exanimavit. Quod cum nuntiatum regi esset, admiratio in satisfactionem cessit; careoremque eum propter constantiam tantae virtutis habuit.

But there is no evidence that Lee consulted any other account than La Calprenède's.

In the main plot there are a few points of resemblance which should be noted.

Roxana's account of her falling in love with Alexander is taken partly from La Calprenède's account of Hermione's falling in love with Alexander and partly from La Calprenède's account of Roxana's first sight of Alexander. From neither source has Lee taken much of the phrasing, but the relationship is unmistakable. Hermione (*Cassandra*, 291) tells how she fell in love with Alexander.

I heard his exploits recounted with admiration, and when they talk'd to me of the greatness of his courage, of that boiling, and generous ardour which made him rush headlong into the thickest of his Enemies, of his moderation in victory, of his gallant fashion, of his youth, and of the grace which accompanied all his actions, I felt my heart insensibly won.

Roxana's account (*The Rival Queens*, p. 27) runs as follows:

> But when I heard of Alexander's Conquests,
> How with a handfull he had Millions slain,
> Spoiled all the East, their Queens his Captives made,
> Yet with what Chastity, and God-like temper
> He saw their Beauties, and with pity bow'd;
> Methought I hung upon my Father's lips.

by Pausanias, i, 9, 5; by Pliny, *H.N.*, viii, 21; by Valerius Maximus, ix, 3; by Seneca: *de Ira*, iii, 17; and by Q. Curtius, viii, 1. Curtius refers to Lysimachus' killing a lion single handed while hunting in Syria and scoffs at the story of the combat in the lion's den as a fable built upon the Syrian exploit. No one of these writers except Justin gives the details of the combat.

La Calprenède (*Cassandra*, 90) brings Roxana and Alexander together at a banquet given by her father celebrating his own defeat at the hands of Alexander; Roxana is one of thirty ladies chosen to wait on the table, and attracts Alexander's attention by her beauty. Lee's account (*The Rival Queens*, p. 27) is the same except that the number of the ladies waiting on the table is raised to fifty.

In the omens foreshadowing Alexander's death Lee secured his material from Plutarch in part; but even here La Calprenède's influence was considerable. Plutarch lays much stress on the fact that Alexander was disturbed by the omens; La Calprenède stresses the fact that Alexander was not disturbed by them; and Lee follows La Calprenède. The presentation of one omen occurring in all three will illustrate this—the battle of the crows. Plutarch writes of Alexander being warned by soothsayers not to enter Babylon.[1]

Alexander however, took no thought of it, and went on, and when he came near the walls of the place, he saw a great many crows fighting with one another, some of whom fell down just by him. After this, being privately informed that Apollodorus, the governor of Babylon, had sacrificed, to know what would become of him, he sent for Pythagoras, the soothsayer, and on his admitting the thing, asked him, in what condition he found the victim; and when he told him the liver was defective in its lobe, "A great presage indeed!" said Alexander. However, he offered Pythagoras no injury, but was sorry that he had neglected Nearchus' advice, and stayed for the most part outside the town, removing his tent from place to place, and sailing up and down the Euphrates. Besides this, he was disturbed by many other prodigies.

After enumerating some of these, Plutarch proceeds:

When once Alexander had given way to fears of supernatural influence, his mind grew so disturbed and so easily alarmed that, if the least unusual or extraordinary thing happened, he thought

[1] Clough ed., IV, 250.

it a prodigy or a presage, and his court was thronged with diviners and priests whose business was to sacrifice and purify and foretell the future. So miserable a thing is incredulity and contempt of divine power on the one hand, and so miserable, also, superstition on the other, which like water, where the level has been lowered, flowing in and never stopping, fills the mind with slavish fears and follies, as now in Alexander's case.

La Calprenède presents the incident as follows (*Cassandra*, 152):

This reason made him hasten his Voyage, or rather the power of his destinies forced him in spite of presages, and the counsels of his friends. Being near the walls, a flock of crowes, after they had fought a great while before him fell some of them dead at his feet; but he mocked at that adventure, and told his Sooth-sayers, it was not able to daunt a gallant courage. He entred into that fatal Town, where he was received with great Pomp and magnificence.

Lee's account in characteristic style runs thus:

Perd. As *Meleager*, and my self in Field,
Your *Persian* Horse about the Army wheel'd:
We heard a noise, as of a rushing Wind,
And a thick Storm the Eye of Day did blind:
A croaking noise resounded through the air,
We look'd, and saw big Ravens battling there:
Each Bird of Night appear'd himself a cloud,
They met, and fought, and their Wounds rain'd black Blood.

Alexander replies:

Be witness for me, all ye Powers Divine,
If ye be angry, 'tis no fault of mine;
Therefore let Furies face me, with a Band
From Hell, my Virtue shall not make a Stand;
Though all the Curtains of the Skie be drawn,
And the Stars wink, young Ammon shall go on.[1]

And in this decision he remains firm throughout the play.

[1] *The Rival Queens*, p. 19.

In the account of the death of Statira, of Hephestion, and especially in that of Clytus, Lee faithfully renders Plutarch. When he wrote the account of the death of Alexander, however, he again fingered the pages of *Cassandra*. La Calprenède clearly follows Justin's account and Quintus Curtius' account of Alexander's death rather than Plutarch's; and, just as clearly, Lee follows La Calprenède rather than Justin or Curtius when introducing details not found in Plutarch. If Lee knew of Justin's or Curtius' accounts he evidently didn't take the trouble to look them up. One incident will sufficiently illustrate the chain of indebtedness, an incident not found in Plutarch, but occurring in Justin, and in Quintus Curtius, La Calprenède, and Lee.

Justin, XII, 15	La Calprenède, *Cassandra*, p. 153	Lee, *The Rival Queens*, p. 63
Sexto die praeclusa voce, exemptum digito anulum Perdiccae tradidit: quae res glisamicorum dissensionen sedavit.	and pulling a ring off from his finger he gave it to *Perdiccas* commanding him to take care of his Burial, and to cause his body to be carried to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon:* *Perdiccas* asked him last of all, when he desired to have those honours given him, which are due unto the Gods, and to those who like him, had gloriously acquired a place in the Heavens. *When you* (said he) are all happy, and in peace.	*Alex. Perdiccas*, take this Ring, And see me laid in the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. *Perd.* When will you, sacred Sir, that we should give To your great memory those Divine Honours, Which such exalted Virtue does deserve? *Alex.* When you are all most happy, and in peace.

The relationship is unmistakable. La Calprenède followed Justin and Curtius, and Lee paraphrased La Calprenède.[1]

The style of *The Rival Queens* is distinctly heroic. Dryden wrote of the play (in verses prefaced to the edition of 1677):

> Such praise is yours, while you the Passions move,
> That 'tis no longer feign'd; 'tis real Love:
> Where Nature Triumphs over wretched Art;
> We only warm the Head, but you the Heart:
> Always you warm! and if the rising Year,
> As in hot *Regions*, bring the Sun too near,
> 'Tis but to make your Fragrant Spices blow,
> Which in our colder Climates will not grow.
> They only think you animate your Theme
> With too much Fire who are themselves all Phle'me;
> Prizes wou'd be for Lags of slowest pace,
> Were Cripples made the Judges of the Race.
> Despise those Drones, who praise while they accuse
> The too much vigor of your youthful Muse:
> That humble Stile which they their Virtue make,
> Is in your pow'r; you need but stoop and take.
> Your beauteous Images must be allow'd
> By all, but some, vile Poets of the Crowd:
> But how shou'd any Sign-post dawber know
> The worth of *Titian*, or of *Angelo?*
> Hard Features ev'ry Bungler can command;
> To draw true Beauty shews a Master's Hand.

The line

> The too much vigor of your Youthful Muse

sums up tersely and accurately the merits and deficiencies of Lee's style.

Lee indulges in few descriptions. The incomparable Statira is not sketched more fully than in such phrases as

[1] Curtius' account is even closer to that of La Calprenède (Book X): "He took his ring off his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, enjoining him to convey his body to Hammon. . . . . Perdiccas then desiring to know, when he would have his divine honours paid him? he reply'd. When they themselves were happy."—Digby's tr. (1747), Vol. II, p. 186.

"the Star that guides my life" spoken by Alexander who has just described her as

all softness,
All melting, mild, and calm as a rock'd Infant.[1]

There is no description of natural scenery although on one occasion Alexander longs for the country.

Thus Palaces in prospect barr the Eye,
Which pleas'd, and free, wou'd o're the Cottage fly;
O're flow'ry Lands to the gay distant Skie.
Farewell then Empire, and the Racks of Love;
By all the Gods, I will to wilds remove,
Stretch'd like a *Sylvan* God on Grass lye down,
And quite forget that e're I wore a crown.[2]

The heroic feature of Lee's style consists largely in simple exaggeration. Sometimes the exaggeration has a point, as where Cassander purposely exaggerates Alexander's glory:

All Nations bow their heads with homage down,
And kiss the Feet of this exalted Man;
The Name, the Shout, the Blast from every Mouth
Is *Alexander*, *Alexander* bursts
Your Cheeks, and with a crack so loud
It drown's the Voice of Heaven, etc.[3]

And again in Alexander's boasting where Lee is following the precedent set by Artaban, Alamanzor, and other mighty heroes:

When glory, like the dazzling Eagle, stood
Perch'd on my Bever in the Granick Flood.
When Fortun's self my Standard trembling bore
And the pale Fates stood frighted on the Shore
When the Immortals on the Billows rode,
And I my self appear'd the leading God.[4]

Again:

Yes, I will shake this *Cupid* from my arms,
If all the rages of the Earth can fright him;
Drown him in the deep bowl of *Hercules;*

[1] P. 24. [2] P. 26. [3] P. 6. [4] P. 18.

Make the World drunk, and then like *Aeolus*,
When he gave passage to the struggling winds,
I'le strike my Spear into the reeling Globe
To let it bloud; set *Babylon* in a blaze,
And drive this God of flames with more consuming fire.[1]

Alexander's physical condition where he lies racked by fever at the point of death might account for his conception of the Horses of the Sun:

. . . . hot, their Mangers full of coals,
Their Mains are flakes of Lightning, curls of Fire,
And their red Tails like Meteors whisk about.[2]

But the torments of the tender passion hardly save such passages as the following:

Trembling, and horrour, pierce me cold as Ice.
Is she not well? what, none, none answer me?
Or is it worse? Keep down ye rising Sighs,
And murmur in the hollow of my Breast:
Run to my Heart, and gather more sad Wind;
That when the voice of Fate shall call you forth,
Ye may, at one rush, from the Seat of Life,
Blow the Blood out, and burst me like a Bladder.[3]

Fortunately excesses of this sort are not numerous; otherwise we should be tempted to agree with Lord Rochester in classing Lee "a hot-brained fustian fool"; or to deplore with Granville[4] "how little notice is taken of the noble and sublime thoughts and expressions of Mr. Dryden and what applause is given to the rants and fustian of Mr. Lee." However, it must be admitted that Lee possesses certain elements of strength: his heroics are exuberant and spontaneous, and there is a certain point to even his wildest flights. It is far superior to his preceding plays: it possesses more restraint, the figures are better conceived and more fittingly applied, and there is less of the grotesque. Compared with the next play to be considered, *The Rival Queens* is a paragon of excellence.

[1] P. 35. [2] P. 63. [3] P. 22 (Alexander speaking). [4] Preface to *Heroic Love*, 1698.

The Siege of Babylon[1]

On November 2, 1677, another play dealing with the fortunes of the incomparable Statira was licensed, and not long after the performance of Lee's Rival Queens at the Theatre Royal, was presented at the Duke's Theatre. This play, *The Siege of Babylon*,[2] by Samuel Pordage, opens the story of Statira where Lee closes it. In the epilogue to *The Siege of Babylon* Statira says,

> At one House, I am, by Roxana, slain,
> But see, at this, I am alive again,
> And spite, of all her cruelty, and rage,
> I Live, am Queen, and Triumph, on the Stage.

The unscrupulous Roxana holds Statira captive in Babylon, and the plot is concerned with her rescue by the hero Oroondates and his friends. The play opens with a duel between Lysimachus and Ptolomey for the hand of Parisatis, a modification of the Lysimachus-Hephestion duel of the romance.[3] Oroondates, the hero of the play as of the romance, scales the wall of Babylon single handed and is captured. He is brought before Roxana, who confesses her love for him. He rejects her. She attempts to kill him but is so overcome by his presence that she cannot strike the blow.[4] She now

[1] The title-page of the first and only edition reads, "The Siege of Babylon As it is Acted at the Dukes Theatre. Written by Samuel Pordage, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; Author of the Tragedy of *Herod and Mariamne*.

> Non tibi plus placeas, quia multis forte placebis:
> Id specta potius, qualibus ipse places.—Manel. de Quat. Virt.

Licensed, Nov. 2. 1677. Roger L'Estrange. London, Printed for Richard Tonson, at his shop under Grays-Inn Gate next Grays-Inn-Lane, MDCLXXVIII."

[2] Published 1678. The British Museum catalogue lists but the one edition.

[3] Cf. also *The Rival Queens* and *The Rival Kings*.

[4] The hero of *Cassandra* has a presence so sublime that (cf. p. 551) when bound and in prison the fire in his eyes and marks of divinity on his face dismay the arm lifted against him so that it sinks without effect. In *Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 295, Caesario tells how his remarkable beauty causes the weapon of a furious woman to fall from her hand as she is on the point of killing him.

plots the death of Statira; and the details lead up to the chief scene in the play. This centers around a four-cornered situation, where Roxana threatens Statira with death; and Perdiccas threatens Oroondates, each being deterred by the threat of the other. Statira and Parisatis are put through a mock execution. Perdiccas, thinking Statira dead, releases the hero and helps him win the city. Roxana stabs herself, Perdiccas goes off to the wars, and Oroondates marries Statira. Such in brief is the main plot of the play. In all essential details it is the plot of the romance.

Pordage attempted to crowd into the play two full-fledged duplicating plots from *Cassandra*—the Lysimachus-Parisatis plot and the Oroondates-Thalestris plot. Neither Lee nor Bankes succeeded in handling one duplicating plot—the Lysimachus-Parisatis plot—to much advantage; and Pordage's failure in attempting two is not to be wondered at. These subplots are so faintly sketched that a reader unfamiliar with *Cassandra* would have great difficulty in following their hazy wanderings through the play. Their appearance at irregular intervals only furnishes unnecessary complications and confusion. The words of M.C. to his most Honoured Friend prefaced to "Four New Playes" by Wm. Killigrew (1666) might be very well applied to the plot of Pordage's play:

> The whole Intrigue a Labyrinth, which you
> Through all the windings furnish with a Clue,
> By which the wandring Traveller is Ledde
> Through wayes past finding out but by your Thred
> The Plot and Scenes wrapt up in such disguise
> As when a fine Cloud darkens the bright skies.

Pordage has not to any considerable extent borrowed the phrasing of La Calprenède, although at times he paraphrases rather closely. The following parallel extracts from the

scene where the hero and heroine are threatened with death by their rivals will illustrate the nature of his indebtedness:

The Siege of Babylon Act III, p. 32	*Cassandra* P. 554
Roxa. Ingrateful as thou art, thou shalt not dye Thy Life is safe enough, whilst I am by; For with my own, I will thy Life defend, And though thou hatest me, shew my self thy Friend. *Oron.* Since to *Statira* you 'ave such malice shown, You are to me most black, and odious grown: Ev'n Perdiccas, I love much more, than thee, And pardon, all his cruelties, to me, Because his care, and tenderness I 'ave seen, In snatching, from thy Murth-'rous hands, my Queen, When you, with so much wrath, and Rudeness prest, That dreadful Javelin, 'gainst her tender Breast.	Thou shalt not die, (said she) [i.e. Roxana] and as ungrateful as thou art, I'le defend thy life as carefully as mine own. I give thee but little thanks for that care, (replied *Oroondates*) and all the succour I can receive from thee, cannot but be very odious to me, after having seen thee present that Javelin against the breast of my Princess: I love *Perdiccas* a great deal better, for all he is so much my Enemy; and for his tenderness of my Queen, I easily pardon all his cruelty toward me; . . . .

The style of *The Siege of Babylon* does not differ essentially from that of the earlier play founded on *Cleopatra;* it is simple rather than ornate, and direct rather than roundabout. There is no excess of figures of speech. Where figures are introduced, however, they are generally sustained through several lines as in the following passages, both drawn from the sea:

Madame, how like the Sea, when calm, you show,
So soft your aspect, and so smooth, your brow;
But once, this day, when you grew rough in Arms,
You seem'd to me, like the Wild Seas, in Storms.
The quiet Sea, does some soft pleasure yield,
But its great power, in Tempests is beheld,
His dreadful majesty, then best appears,
When he shoots up his Waves, to the bright Stars
You are more noble, in your dreadful Arms.
'Twas that fierce bravery, which I saw in you,
That only could, my untam'd Heart, subdue.[1]

and the following:

When the Sea's calm, the Air Serene, and clear,
The Ship before the Wind, each Buoy can steer.
But when the Winds, roar in their shatter'd shroudes,
When Heaven's bright face, grows terrible, with cloudes
And angry Seas, to moving Mountaines grow,
The Pilot then his skill, and Art does show
'Tis now, Cassander, you must show your skill,
And try, if you can save, as well as kill.
Now you must shew, your courage, and your care,
To every Guard, and every Watch repare:
Statira was belov'd, and you will see
Th' enraged Babylonians Mutiny:
They will revenge her Death, on you, and me.
If us, from threatning stormes, you now can save,
You shall enjoy, the Fortune, of the Brave.[2]

The Rival Kings[3]

In the dedicatory preface to *The Rival Kings* Bankes makes capital of his indebtedness to La Calprenède.

[1] Act I, scene 3, p. 15. [2] Act IV, p. 46.

[3] Written by John Bankes, 1677. The title-page of the first edition reads: "The Rival Kings: or the Loves of Oroondates and Statira A Tragedy. Acted at the Theater-Royal. Written by Mr. Bankes.

Divesne Prisco natus ab Inacho,
Nil interest, an Pauper, & infima
De gente sub dio moreris,
Victima nil miserantis Orci.—HORAT. Lib. ii, Ode 3.

London, Printed for L. C. in Goat Court on Ludgate Hill, 1677."

The play is dedicated in high-flown language to the Right Honourable The Lady Katherine Herbert. Unless otherwise specified all page references are to this edition. The British Museum catalogue lists only this one edition.

I bring [he writes] in my behalf too the Conqueror of the World, to lay before your feet, the greatest Man that ever was, who, were he living, wou'd become a Rival to his dear Ephestion, and behold in your Person, as well the sweet, serene, and obliging innocence of Parisatis, as the more lofty and Imperial Graces of his Statira. This great Man, Madam, the Author of the famous Cassandra thought never to be equall'd, but in the person of the most exquisite of Lovers, him therefore he has raised in the Character of Oroondates, to be a Rival to the mighty Alexander in the Romance, and here I have brought him to be so in you, and the rather, because I prefer him to the likeness of the young, hopeful, and gallant Partner of your self, which I pray he may never cease to be, but early anticipate the extraordinary expectations of Mankind, and crown you with greater happiness then Fame and Fancy have yet created in the minds of the most Heroick Lovers. This, and whatever increases your felicity shall be the perpetual wishes of, Madame,

Your most Humble and Obedient Servant
JOHN BANKES

In the prologue Bankes again refers to *Cassandra:*

[The author]
Bids me remember ere you be displeas'd
How with Cassandra's fam'd Romance ye were pleas'd
How many nights 't has kept you long awake
Nay and have wept for Oroondates sake.

It seems fairly evident that Bankes counted that the popularity of the romance would help create an interest in his play. So far as I know, all critics have accepted Bankes's statement of the case without further question. Langbaine hints vaguely that Bankes may have consulted Curtius and Justin,[1] although there is not the slightest basis for any such conclusion. But no one appears to have recognized any indebtedness to Lee. Bankes in his epilogue

[1] Langbaine's words are: "The play is founded chiefly on *Cassandra* a famed Romance in Fol. As to what concerns Alexander, I refer you to Curtius and Justin."

evidently anticipated that such indebtedness would be recognized and claims that his play was written a year before Lee's:

> But justly tax the Poets want of sence.
> That after your lov'd Alexander dare[1]
> Bring this with all your likings to compare,
> A Play with scenes and Acting so admir'd
> As if the Souls they play'd had them inspir'd.
> So 'tis with her that has an ugly face,
> Proud of false charmes, and her affected grace,
> Sits by some cry'd up Beauty of the Town,
> And imitates each glance that's not her own,
> And when some Gallant from the Pit doth bow,
> O how she snatches it and court'sies low!
> The careless Beauty then sits by the while,
> Kills with a frown and raises with a smile;—
> Yet this excuse upon the Authors score,
> This though come last, was writ a year before.

a statement which contradicts Sidney Lee's explanation that "he was tempted by the success of Lee's *Rival Queens* to write a similar tragedy in verse, entitled *Rival Kings*." There are, however, some striking resemblances between the two plays, resemblances of such a nature that they could hardly result from coincidence.

Bankes opens the play with the presentation of the dissatisfaction among Alexander's generals at his treatment of certain of their comrades, a number of whom he has killed in fits of ungovernable rage. The names of these, the order of the presentation, and the method of handling the scene are the same as in Lee's account. This in itself would not be convincing proof as both Plutarch and La Calprenède give most of the material; but in two trifling details is found evidence of Bankes's familiarity with Lee's play. The first of these is Cassandra's account of how Alexander

[1] Lee's play was commonly known by its second title. *Alexander the Great.*

"struck me on the Face" the phrasing being identical in the two plays.

The second is the detail that Parmenio was stabbed *in his own garden or orchard.* This detail of the place is not given by Plutarch or La Calprenède but was added by Lee as an effective touch, and enlarged upon by Bankes, who makes a good deal of the fact that Parmenio was thus treasonably slain in his own garden. At the close of the play, in Alexander's death scene, Bankes imitates Lee in giving to Alexander delirious visions of battle. The phrasing is not the same, but the resemblance is unmistakable.[1]

The Rival Kings, p. 50

See, see the Battailes Joyn-
Beat, beat the Drumes,
Bucephalus inrag'd he
Champs and foames;
Darius with his hooked
Charriots comes.
Wheres old *Parmenio?*
Let more Trumpets sound;
How his proud horse does
beat the fearful ground!
Haste, haste—*Ephestion's* routed in the wing,—
Now, now they have inclos'd
him in a Ring—
Heark how they shout and clap
their hands for joy,
The Gods have ravish'd
my beloved Boy!

The Rival Queens, p. 63

Sound, sound, keep your Ranks
close, ay now they come;
O the brave dinn, the noble
clank of Arms!
Charge, Charge apace, and let
the *Phalanx* move.
Darius comes,—ha! let me in,
none dare
To cross my fury;—*Philotas*
is unhors'd; Ay 'tis *Darius*,
I see, I know him by the sparkling Plumes,
And his Gold Chariot drawn
by ten white Horses:
But like a Tempest thus I pour
upon him.—
He bleeds, with that last blow
I brought him down
He tumbles, take him, snatch
the Imperial Crown.
They fly, they fly,—follow,
follow,—Victoria, Victoria,
Victoria,—O let me sleep.

[1] The speech was burlesqued by Durfey in *The Richmond Heiress;* cf. below, p. 158.

In other places throughout the play there are echoes from Lee as, for instance, the following:

The Rival Kings, p. 43	*The Rival Queens*, p. 49
Alex. The hand that from my Bosom pul'd a Dart Ne're felt me tremble with the sudden smart;	*Alex.* When from my reins the Javelin's head was cut, ... Did I tremble?

That Bankes rather than Lee was the borrower seems perfectly clear. There is no evidence that Lee saw Bankes's play before writing his own, whereas Bankes admits a knowledge of Lee's before he published his own. Aside from this, however, there is further evidence pointing to the same conclusion. His assignment of the chief rôle to Alexander was a blunder due to Lee's influence. A brief synopsis of the plots will help to establish this point. In La Calprenède's romance, Oroondates, the hero, in a night attack on the Persians invades the tent of Statira, daughter of Darius, and falls desperately in love with her at sight. Later he goes in disguise to the Persian court and wins her favor. She is, however, deceived by a rival into believing him false, and marries Alexander. Disguised as a gardener, Oroondates visits Statira now the wife of Alexander and is spurned. He rescues Alexander from drowning, and later resists the temptation to kill him when easy opportunity offers. Banished from Statira's presence he languishes in sickness for two months; then setting out to kill Alexander he hears that his rival is dead and that Statira has been executed. The romance from here on is concerned with the rescue of Statira who, it later appears, is still living.

Here it would seem is abundant material for an exciting play. This is what Bankes did with it:

Alexander having conquered Persia falls in love with the daughter of the ruler, but is scorned by her, she being in love

with Oroondates. Oroondates visits Statira and is discovered by Alexander, who puts him under guard, but later generously pardons him and restores him his freedom and kingdom. Alexander further invites him to attend his wedding with Statira on the morrow. Before the morrow, however, Alexander is poisoned and Oroondates gets Statira. The part of Oroondates is purely a filling in part; he does absolutely nothing except wait around for the time when the heroine is to be awarded. Alexander holds the center of the stage from the beginning to the close. He is drawn elaborately in shifting moods: now controlled by fiery love, now by impetuous, ungovernable fits of temper. He is presented as noble and forgiving and above taking unfair advantage of a rival. The whole of the last act is concerned with his death, and the play closes not with a prophecy of happiness for Oroondates but of revenge for the death of Alexander.

About the only resemblance between the plots of the play and the romance is in the central situation. Alexander is in love with Statira, who is in love with Oroondates, and even this requires modification, for in the romance Statira is married to Alexander and faithful to him until death. How a dramatist who was familiar with *Cassandra* could overlook such dramatic scenes as Oroondates coming upon Statira asleep, or disguised as a gardener, or hanging over the sleeping Alexander sword in hand, is difficult to conceive. Evidently he was dazzled by the success of the play of his contemporary. If he did not write the play under Lee's inspiration he certainly vigorously revised it after Lee's play came out.

In the subplot as well there is indication of Lee's influence; Bankes imitates Lee in making Parisatis in love with Lysimachus; in *Cassandra* she prefers Hephestion, and

remains faithful to him until he dies of a surfeit. Bankes is original in his account of the rescue of Parisatis from the devouring flames and in making Hephestion die at the hands of Lysimachus. It is interesting to note that neither Lee nor Bankes makes effective use of the subplot. In *The Rival Queens* it has little bearing on the principal plot, but rather distracts attention; in *The Rival Kings* although it is a duplicating plot it overshadows the principal plot; Lysimachus is more of a hero than Oroondates. Although both adopted La Calprenède's machinery, neither knew how to manage it.

Bankes's style is that of one who has given his nights and days to the reading of contemporary heroic plays like Lee's rather than of La Calprenède's romances. He outdoes Lee in bombast and fustian, but it is with great effort. In the dedicatory preface to the Right Honourable The Lady Katherine Herbert he complains:

> How hard is it then for a young Writer to please this delicate Age, wherein every year the Wits study the fashion of Language to refine, and alter it, as they do their Cloathes; and true it is, that 'tis another thing to write the sence and speeches of Heroes that are dead, and make 'em speak as we please, govern'd by our fancy, then it is to reach the minds of those illustrious Persons that Poetry is forc'd to choose to be above its judges, the Patrons of Wit.

A few specimens of his up-to-date garments will give a sufficiently accurate idea of their cut and finish. The costume flashes and sparkles with tinsel scintillations: the gorgeous splendor of the sun, the glitter of stars, the gleam of gems and gold, the sparkling flashing brilliance of the light upon the waters dazzles the sight.

Where'er Alexander comes "he fills the Skye with light," "clad in Armour made of shining Gold," he shoots "like a

Star" into a town, or "like a flaming horrour o're the World 'e Darts," and "like a flaming Beacon he does fright Tame Nations."

Parisatis is described as:

> Some dazzling Constellation from the Skye!
> Sure 'tis the rich Vermillion that does grace
> The evening Sun sent t' adorn this place,[1]

She out-dazzles flames; as in the scene where Lysimachus rescues her:

> Where I beheld this Goddess on the floor,
> Yielding to flames, that did her eyes adore
> In a dark swoond, and yet her form so bright
> Her glorious beauty dazzl'd all the light.
> I took this sacred burthen in one arm,
> And with the other scattered every harm;
> The Fire recoil'd, and hung upon the wall,
> Bowing its conquer'd head, and down did fall:
> Like the bright Taper, it did soon decay,
> That lost its splendor at the sight of day.[2]

and again:

> Her soul appears all glorious as her face,
> A shining Jewel in a Chrystal case.[3]

The sort of pathetic fallacy included in the next to the last passage quoted is thoroughly characteristic of Bankes's style; the passage first quoted describing Parisatis continues:[4]

> Heark, how the Air with Gentle murmur steals,
> To catch the Odour on her Lips, that dwells,
> More sweet than Breath, sent from the Couslips Bed,
> Or fragrant Banks with purple Violets spred.[5]

[1] P. 20, beginning of Act III.

[2] P. 4.

[3] Act III, p. 24.

[4] P. 20.

[5] Cf. *Twelfth Night*, opening lines.

and a little farther on:

> Look back, O beauteous daughter of the spring,
> Whose divine presence, whiles these walks she treads
> Makes chearful Birds with welcome *Carrols* sing,
> And drooping flowers hold up their grateful heads.

Love's Triumph[1]

In 1678, Oroondates and Statira were forced again from the peaceful shades of their happy retirement to throw themselves at the princely feet of Her Highness The Most Illustrious Mary Princess of Orange.[2] The play thus

[1] "Loves Triumph or The Royal Union: A Tragedy. Written By Edward Cooke Esq; And Dedicated To Her Highness The Princess of Orange.

> . . . . amicus dulcis, ut æquum est,
> Cum mea compenset vitiis bona: pluribus hisce
> (Si modo plura mihi bona sunt) inclinet: amari
> Si volet: hæc lege, in trutina ponetur eadem.
> —HOR. *Serm. Satyr.* 3.

London, Printed by Thomas James, and are to be sold by him at the Printing-Press in Mincing-lane, and William Leach at the Crown in Cornhil. MDCLXXVIII."

[2] The Epistle Dedicatory. To Her Highness The Most Illustrious Mary Princess of Orange reads:

". . . . Be pleased then to receive this Poem (an absolute stranger to the world, being never yet seen upon the publick theatre) with that generosity and grace you are always ready to bestow upon the unfortunate and fair: and such your Highness knows were Oroondates and Statira, who now being forc'd again from the peaceful shades of their happy retirement, do throw themselves at your princely feet, with the reverence and humility of idolaters, devoutly begging their Protection might be in your Highness' umbrage as in the only place where they can best be secured from the envy, if I may not venture to say, malice of persecuting censors."

The author proceeds to describe the Duchess in true heroic style:

"There is in Your Highness' looks, such a shine and lustre of beauty, as is not to be resembled by anything below a divinity; and as the brightness and glory of it, like the sun, delights and refreshes the eyes of all mankind; so also you have mixt with it such a fierceness and grand air of majesty, that, like a divinity too, you cannot be beheld without fear and trembling."

After continuing for some time in this vein, he turns to the description of her husband, truly a veritable Artaban or Oroondates:

"He is so God-like in his vertues, and all his actions; a prince of such dazzling brightness in his glory and renown, as it is impossible to be exprest, except we set down whatever is accounted excellent, and that he is. A Prince that knew how to conquer, before the world could reasonably imagine he was capable of wielding his sword. His countenance is so martial that it plainly expresses the great courage he hath, not to know what fear is in himself; and yet can strike a general dread and consternation in others; so that he needs not be obliged to the use of arms to conquer his enemies, for he can easily

dedicated, Edward Cooke's *Loves Triumph*, was never acted, and only one edition was ever published. The play opens with Roxana's discovery that Statira, whom she had seen put to death, still lives, protected by Perdiccas. The plot follows in detail that part of *Cassandra* dramatized by Pordage except that the Artaxerxes-Berenice plot is substituted for the Orontes-Thalestris plot.

The play is a close dramatization of *Cassandra;* there is hardly a speech of any length that is not a paraphrase. There are a few short scenes of a few lines each not taken from *Cassandra*.[1] But in all the other scenes the details are the same and in most of the scenes the words are closely paraphrased.[2] In one place at least he has followed the romance word for word, where he gives Roxana's letter to Oroondates.[3] A few parallel passages will show how faithfully Cooke rendered the romance:

Perdiccas urges that Oroondates be freed. Roxana opposes it.

Loves Triumph	*Cassandra*
Scene V, p. 6	P. 541
Perdiccas (speaking to Roxana):	[Perdiccas speaking:]
Madam, I think their satisfaction must Not be despised, but given them, 'tis just.	It is just, said he, that Oroondates should be given you, and though you very well know by the confession I make you of

gain the victory over them when ere he pleases but to employ the terror of his looks. But yet withal, he has such grace-full and winning charms, as none is able to behold him without admiration. Such justness and regularity is in his shape and meen, such sweetness in his motions, and such a generous condescention in all his ways; that he does not so much make to himself slaves by the force of his valour, as he does cause all hearts to become tributary to him by his obliging and familiar address."

[1] Act III, scenes 1, 2, 4, and 5; Act IV, scene 6; Act V, scenes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

[2] This is true of Act I, scenes 3, 5, 8, and 9; Act II, scenes 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12; Act III, scenes 9 and 10; Act IV, scenes 1, 2, 3, 8, and 9; and in Act V, scenes 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15.

[3] Act II, scene 11.

Loves Triumph	*Cassandra*
And though you knew how much my int'rest does Decline his freedom, and his fetters choose; Yet is their Virtue and high Merit such, To grant all they can ask is not too much.	my love, how great an interest I ought to have in detaining him, and what damage I shall receive by his liberty; I'le lay aside the consideration of my own repose, etc.

Roxana proposes that Statira be given up in place of Oroondates:

She would as weak before our walls appear, As now she does, being your close prisoner But Oroondates is a Scythian born And one our Absolute defeat has sworn: The greatest of our enemies will be, And we are ruin'd, if we set him free.	Besides she's a woman, as weak without our Walls as in our Prison; . . . . but Oroondates is a Scythian that has taken arms for our destruction . . . . moreover he is the greatest and most terrible of your enemies, so that you cannot set him at liberty without contributing to your ruin.

Seleucus exasperated at this speech breaks in:

	P. 542
Do you no more our services regard? Are slights for loyalty the due reward? Is it because among the dead we lay, Mangled with wounds, and neer as cold as they; Whilst those, who now dispose of us, did flie,	What (said he with a louder voice than ordinary) is it thus you use us after what we have done for this party? and have you so soon forgotten that we have preserved the glory of it by our Actions; is it because we were left among the dead all mangled with wounds, while those who now dispose of us sought their safety behind our Walls?

Oroondates receives a letter:

Loves Triumph

My Lord!

You are permitted to see my Rival, according to your desire, but it is not meant you should make use of the favour to the Ruin of those who grant it you. It is in your power to turn it to your advantage, if you use it as prudence would advise you; and in councelling Statira not to think of you any more: You ought to receive the counsel she will give you to loose all thoughts of her. This is the way you ought to follow, if you love her life since it shall meerly depend upon the success of this Enterview.

ROXANA

Cassandra

My Lord!

You are permitted to see my Rival, according to your desire, but it is not meant you should make use of the favour to the Ruin of those who grant it you. It is in your power to turn it to your advantage, if you use it as prudence would advise you; and in councelling Statira not to think of you any more: You ought to receive the counsel she will give you to loose all thoughts of her. This is the way you ought to follow, if you love her life since it shall meerly depend upon the success of this Enterview.

ROXANA

The characters are faithfully reproduced; indeed here as in the plot the author seems to take it for granted that his audience is familiar with *Cassandra*. He follows La Calprenède's phrasing so closely that it is hard to identify his own style. The verse is stiff and labored, utterly lacking in ease and grace. Occasionally we get a glimpse of what he can do in such passages as the following where he has cut loose from the parent wing and ventured a few flights on his own pinions:

Ye mighty Powers! how subtle are your wayes!
How are they all encircled in the Rayes
Of richest Mercies!
As glistring Stars which oft obscur'd we find,
Yet still remain the same the clouds behind.[1]

[1] Act II, scene 12, p. 26.

Again:

> 'Tis true but then when Angry heaven shrouds
> Its glory up in dark and sullen clouds,
> We ought to fear least from those clouds should break
> Such storms as may a fatal vengeance speak
> And now my Oroondates is in armes
> Nothing but tears can give me pleasing charmes.[1]

Or this, which reminds us of Bankes:

> I'll act the Phaeton of my Mrs Eyes,
> And with her Rayes I'll fire their Pallaces,
> And make one Comet of the spacious skies.[2]

He had great difficulty in finding rhymes for his couplets. Such rhymes as esteem, him; queen, win; declare, fear; him, sublime; give, leave, greet the reader on every page, showing the extremity he was put to.

The Young King[3]

The year following *Loves Triumph* there appeared at Dorset Garden Mrs. Behn's *The Young King*.[4] This play is founded on one of the most interesting of the minor histories in *Cleopatra*, the story of Alcamenes and Menalippa.[5] The main plot of the play follows the story as told by La Calprenède in all essential details.

[1] Act I, scene 7, p. 9.

[2] Act IV, scene 1, p. 39.

[3] *The Young King* was first published 1683. Unless otherwise specified the page references are to this edition. The title-page reads: "The Young King: or, the Mistake. As 'tis acted at his Royal Highness The Dukes Theatre. Written by A. Behn. London: Printed for *D. Brown*, at the Black Swan and Bible without *Temple-bar*. *T. Benskin* in *St. Brides* Church-yard *Fleet-street*, and *H. Rhodes*, next door to the Bear-tavern near *Bride-lane* in *Fleet-street*. 1683." Another edition was published in 1698.

[4] Genest (Vol. I, p. 273) assigns the performance to the latter end of 1679 on the basis that the "Epilogue is said to have been spoken at the Duke of Yorks second exile into Flanders." The play was written several years before; it was the first of the plays written by this ingenious author.

[5] William Mears in his *Catalogue of Plays* (1713) mentions a tragedy called *Alcameves and Menalippa*, and ascribes it to William Philips. I have been unable to see a copy of this play.

Thersander the son of the King of Scythia, disguised under the name of Clemanthis, visits the kingdom of the hostile King of Dacia. Among the Dacians he wins a wonderful reputation for valor, among other exploits saving the life of the general of the army. One day, sleeping near a murmuring spring in a beautiful grove, he is discovered by Cleomena, the lovely Princess of Dacia. He opens his eyes to this lovely vision and leaves his liberty at her feet. From now on he is willing to follow her "to th' utmost bounds of the Universe." She too falls in love but disdains him as he seems to be of low station. The "General" whose life the hero has saved is less particular and offers the hero his daughter in marriage. Cleomena although disdainful becomes jealous of this daughter and banishes the unhappy Clemanthis. Thersander in his own character—and unrecognized by the Dacians as Clemanthis—enters, on the Scythian side, a battle against the Dacians; he saves his father's life and turns the tide of the battle in favor of the Scythians.

He can no longer live outside the presence of Cleomena and again as Clemanthis he visits the Dacian court. The Dacians challenge Thersander to single combat, and select as their champion Clemanthis. Thus it happens that our hero faces a combat with himself. Nothing daunted, he selects a friend to represent himself as Clemanthis and he in the person of Thersander is to capture the pseudo-Clemanthis, the understanding being that neither is to be injured. This highly satisfactory program is broken into by an unforeseen difficulty: the friend representing Clemanthis is killed by rivals for the hand of Cleomena. Cleomena thinking that Thersander is the party guilty of the death of Clemanthis, and herself being trained in arms, enters in the armor of Clemanthis the arena against Thersander.

Thersander wounds Cleomena and discovers her identity, but she recognizes in him only the slayer of her lover. She is set free and the King of Scythia proposes that the two nations be united by the marriage of Thersander and Cleomena. Cleomena is horrified at the proposal. In disguise she penetrates the Scythian lines and stabs Thersander. As he is dying he implores a visit from Cleomena; she yields at the last moment and discovers in Thersander her lover whom she has thought dead. She confesses her love to him, and he recovers.

To this main plot from *Cleopatra*, Mrs. Behn added two subplots not from La Calprenède: a supporting plot built up around the friend killed as Clemanthis, and a rather coarse semi-comic plot based on the character of Orsames a young man who has never seen a woman.[1] In addition to the characters so introduced there are a few characters not from *Cleopatra*, but none of importance—the fop-courtier, a sort of Sir Andrew, might be noticed. But the principal characters are taken bodily from the romance.

The characters and the situations and the incidents are sufficiently familiar to the reader by this time to call for no further comment. There are however in the plots some new combinations, and a sprinkling of novelty such as to give it spice and interest. The story as told by La Calprenède is one of the most dramatic of his minor plots and very vividly presented. Mrs. Behn found the material so well suited to her purpose that the task of play writing was reduced to cutting the lines and putting them into blank verse. A few passages will illustrate the process.

The Heroine discovers the hero asleep in a grove, his plumed cap lying near by:

[1] Almanzor in *Polexander* is raised in the same ignorance.

The Young King, I, ii, p. 8	*Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 128
Cleo. Must this be he must kill the King of *Scythia?* For I must lay no claim to any other: Grant, Oh ye Gods, who play with Mortals thus, That him for whom ye have design'd your Slave, May look like this Unknown, And I'll be ever grateful for the Bounty.— But these are vain imaginary joys.	[*Men.*] Is this he, to whom the Gods have destined the ruine of the King of *Scythia?* . . . . If it please the Gods (continued she) that he for whom heaven and my fortune reserves me, resemble this Unknown, how much shall I be obliged to their bounty? But alas (pursues she with a sigh) I feed upon vain imaginations.

The hero awakes and, seeing her, addresses her:

Ther. Great Goddess, pardon an unlucky Stranger, The errours he commits 'gainst your Divinity, Who, had he known this Grove had Sacred been, He wou'd not have prophan'd it by his presence.	[*Alc.*] Great Goddess, said he, pardon to a stranger the errour he may have committed against your Divinity; had I known this sacred place, I would not have prophan'd it by my presence.
P. 8	P. 129
Cleo. Rise, Sir, I am no Deity; Or if I were, I cou'd not be offended To meet so brave a man	[*Men.*] I am no Goddess, or, if I were, I could not be displeased to meet you:
Ther. Can you be mortal! What happy Land contains you? Or what Men Are worthy to adore you?	[*Alc.*] What Land can contain her, or what men are worthy to adore her!
Cleo. I find you are a stranger to this place, You else had known me to be *Cleomena.*	[*Men.*] . . . . and were you no stranger . . . . you had possibly known the Princess Menalippa

The Young King	*Cleopatra*
Ther. The Princess *Cleomena!* my mortal Enemy!	. . . . Menalippa, his mortal enemy.
Cleo. You seem displeas'd at the knowledge of my name; But, give me leave to tell you, yours on me Wou'd have another Sense.	[*Men.*] I know not (said she) whether the knowledge of my name hath given you any displeasure, but I should be very glad to learn yours.
Ther. The knowledge of your Name has not displeased me; But, Madam, I had sooner took you for The Soveraign of the world than that of *Dacia;* Nor ought you to expect less adoration From all that World, than those who're born your Slaves; —And amongst those devout ones number him, Whose happy Fate conducted to your Feet, And who'll esteem himself more fortunate, If by that little service he had rendered you, *Clemanthis'* Name have ever reach'd your Ear.	[*Alc.*] the knowledge of your name hath not surprized me . . . . I should rather take you for the Sovereign of the Universe, than the Princess of Dacia; and you ought not to expect less homage from all men, than from those who are born your subjects; and amongst the most humble adorers of those marks of Divinity, which appear visible in you, you may number him whom his good fortune hath conducted to your Feet, and who will esteem himself exceeding glorious if that little service, by which he hath endeavored to render you, the name of *Alcimedon* hath arrived at your ears.

And so the scene runs, closely paraphrasing the scene in the romance. Mrs. Behn has also copied her landscape from La Calprenède.

The Young King, II, iii, pp. 20+	*Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 132
Cleo. Look *Clemanthis*—on yonder tuft of Trees,	The Princess shewed him a Spring, encompassed with some

The Young King	*Cleopatra*
Near which there is a little murmuring Spring, From whence a Rivolet does take its rise, And branches forth in Channels through the Garden; 'Twas near a place like that where first I saw *Clemanthis.*	Trees, from whence a Rivulet took its rise, branching forth in many channels, through the Garden. It was (said she) near such a place as this that I first saw *Alcimedon;*
Ther. Madam, be pleas'd to add, 'twas also there *Clemanthis* left his Liberty at the Feet Of Divine *Cleomena;* And charg'd himself with those too glorious Chains, Never to be dismist but with his Life.	. . . . and you may add, Madam, replied Alcammes, 'Twas in that place, that *Alcimedon* left his liberty at the feet of the divine *Menalippa,* and charged himself with those glorious Chains which he will carry to his tomb.
Cleo. Stranger—before I punish thy Presumption, Inform me who it is that has offended: Who giving me no other knowledge of him, Than what his Sword has done—dares raise his eyes to me?	Stranger, said she, if I behold thy boldness with rigour, I should judge it worthy of punishment, ... first let her know who is this audacious man, that without giving us any other knowledge than that of his Sword, dares lift his eyes to the Princess of *Dacia.*

In her character presentation Mrs. Behn sticks closely to La Calprenède's interpretation. Note her presentation of the jealous rage of the heroine:[1]

[1] Note also in the speech of the heroine when she discovers her supposed lover dead (III, iv; *Cleopatra,* Part II, p. 155) and the hero's speech when he discovers he has been fighting against the heroine (*The Young King,* IV, ii; *Cleopatra,* Part II, p. 157). The heroine's letter to the hero in answer to his proposal (*The Young King,* IV, v, p. 153) is patched up from lines taken from the letter in the romance (*Cleopatra,* Part II, p. 165). The trial of the heroine for her murderous assault on the hero (*The Young King,* V, 1), follows closely

The Young King, II, 4, p. 26	*Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 138
'Twas but even now, he lov'd me with such Ardor; And he, who promis'd me the Crown of *Scythia* Dars't thou become unjust, ungrateful Stranger! Who having rais'd thy Eyes to *Cleomena* Would sacrifice her to another Mistress: Traitor—hast thou the impudence to appear before me,	. . . . this man who late loved me with so much ardor . . . . he who promised to Crown me Queen of *Scythia*, should be no other than a Deceiver . . . . who having lifted his eyes to Menalippa . . . . would now sacrifice her to Barzana's Daughter? Traytor, hast thou the impudence to present thy self before me?

the scene in the romance (*Cleopatra*, Part II, pp. 170+). The reconciliation scene duplicates that of the romance:

The Young King, V, 4, p. 59	*Cleopatra*, Part II, p. 177
Cleo. Thersander, I am come to beg thy pardon, If thou art innocent, as I must believe thee, And here before the King to make confession Of what I did refuse the Queen my Mother. Know then, I lov'd! and with a perfect passion, The most unfortunate of men, *Clemanthis*.	[*Alcamenes*] I come to make that reparation which I owe to you if you are innocent . . . . I will make a confession of that before the King . . . . which I refused to confess . . . . to my own Mother . . . . I have loved with an innocent affection the valiant *Alcimedon*.
His Birth I never knew, but do believe It was Illustrious, as were his Actions; But I have lost him by a fatal accident, That very day he should have fought with you.	His birth was never known to me, though I am not ignorant that it was of the most illustrious amongst men; . . . . I have lost him by a dismal accident, on that day he should have fought with you.
Ther. No, I shall never complain of *Cleomena* If she still love *Clemanthis*.	Alcamenes cannot complain of Menalippa's cruelty, if *Menalippa* still loves her *Alcimedon*.
Cleo. There needs no more to make me know that Voice. Oh stay, this joy too suddenly surprizes . . . . Oh, my *Clemanthis!* do I hold thee fast?	He spake only these few words and there needed no more to make *Menalippa* know the beloved voyce of *Alcimedon* . . . . . . Throwing her arms about his neck, ... Alcimedon, said she!

It would be impossible to follow a source so closely as does Mrs. Behn without catching some of the style. And in some of the places where she uses her own invention we find passages like the following in La Calprenède's vein. Urania describes Amintas:

> A tempting Face and shape:
> A Tongue bewitching, soft, and Breath as sweet
> As is the welcome Breeze that does restore
> Life to man half kill'd with heat before:
> But has a Heart as false as Seas in Calms,
> Smiles first to tempt, then ruines with its Storms.[1]

Whatever the reason, there was for nearly two decades a dearth of heroic plays. In 1695, however, Lee's *The Rival Queens* was revived with great magnificence and in the next two years appeared two plays taken from La Calprenède. These were *The Neglected Virtue*, 1696, and *The Unnatural Brother*, 1697.

Neglected Virtue, or The Unhappy Conqueror[2]

No author is assigned. Mr. H[ildebrand] Horden, who wrote and spoke one of the prologues, in a prefatory note dedicating the play to the Honourable Sir John Smith, Baronet, admits responsibility for the publishing of the play, but modestly assigns the authorship to a friend. No one, however, can read the preface without leaning strongly to the opinion that Mr. Horden himself is the friend referred to. In the first place, the play was not very successful and was severely attacked by the critics; and there was accordingly little glory to be gained by coming forward as the author. In the second place, Horden writing of "those

[1] Act I, scene 1, p. 4.

[2] The title-page reads: "Neglected Virtue: Or, The Unhappy Conquerour. A Play, Acted at the Theatre-Royal. By His Majesty's Servants. London: Printed for *Henry Rhodes* in *Fleet Street*, *Richard Parker*, at the *Royal-Exchange*, *Sam Briscoe*, the Corner Shop of *Charles-street*, in *Russell-street*, *Covent-Garden*, 1696."

wide-mouth'd Curs, the Criticks," says, "But since they have had their Ends in running it down, 'tis under the Shelter of your Name I desire a poor maim'd Thing, that did its best to shew them Sport, may lye secure from farther danger." A friend might thus violently assail the critics, but it is highly improbable that a friend would speak so deprecatingly of the play as to call it a "poor maim'd Thing."[1]

The main plot of *Neglected Virtue* is based on one of the supporting plots of *Cleopatra*, namely, that of Artaban and Elisa. The play has a rather weak subplot[2] intended to furnish some comic elements related to the main plot very slightly. The main plot opens with the account of a battle between the Medes and Parthians, fought by Tigranes, king of the Medes, to win Alinda, daughter of Phraates, king of the Parthians. Artaban, the hero, has been banished because having won great victories for the Parthians he has the insolence to ask for the hand of Alinda. Checking his resentment he comes to the aid of Phraates in the nick of time to save him from defeat at the hands of Tigranes.

To this point the play follows the plot as given by La Calprenède. Now, contrary to the romance, Phraates of the play yields temporarily to the suit of the hero. The action is straightway brought back into the lines of the romance through a false oracle,[3] which sets Phraates against the marriage of his daughter to Artaban; as in the romance

[1] John Mottley, in his "List of all the English Dramatic Poets" (appended to Whincop's *Scanderberg*, printed London, 1747) assigns the play to Horden, although on just what basis he does not state.

[2] The comic subplot is from Fletcher according to the revised Langbaine (cf. p. 165, 1699 ed.; cf. also Genest, II, 83).

[3] The oracle is worked up by the Queen who has fallen in love with Artaban. This situation of an unscrupulous queen in love with the hero is a conventional one in the romance and heroic plays. Cf. *Cassandra*, *Cleopatra*, *Pharamond*; *Aurengzebe*, *The Indian Emperor*, *The Indian Queen*, *Alcibiades*, *Don Carlos*, etc.

Alinda is promised to Tigranes, and Artaban is banished. In both the play and the romance Artaban attacks and kills one of the guards, and being captured grows insolent. The King offers him his life as a reward for his services. Artaban rejects the offer and by boastful threats spurs the King on to take his life. He is again banished. He furiously desires to take up arms against Phraates but is restrained by a promise he has made not to fight against the father of the heroine. At the risk of his life he returns to see Alinda. Here the author of the play takes final leave of the plot of the romance. La Calprenède brings the hero and heroine together in a happy conclusion. All the chief characters of the play meet with violent death: Artaban kills Tigranes, Memnon kills the King and the Queen, the heroine poisons herself, and the hero falls upon his sword.[1]

With the exception of the Queen and Memnon the characters of the play are taken from *Cleopatra*.[2] The bright-eyed heroine Alinda is thus described by Artaban:[3]

> Thou art all Goodness, perfect Charity;
> Nor does the Aetherial Maid that bears that Name,
> With half thy Beams, and brighten'd Beauties shine;
> Oh! I cou'd look, and love, and gaze, and live.
> And bask my self within these Rays for ever:
> Thy Eye's my Sphere of Light, thy Breast my Globe;
> My Garden's in thy Face, and in thy Heart my Love.[4]

She is courageous and faithful in adversity and most beautiful when in tears (Act IV, scene 2, p. 30):

[1] In making the conclusion tragic he was following the precedent set by Lee, who ends nearly all his plays in tragedy. Note especially the endings of *Gloriana*, *Mithridates*, and *Caesar Borgia;* cf. also the endings of Otway's *Alcibiades* and *Don Carlos*, Tate's *Loyal General*, etc.

[2] Elisa of the romance is given the name Alinda; but the other characters as Phraates, Artaban, Tigranes, etc., retain the names given in *Cleopatra*.

[3] Act II, p. 18, first edition.

[4] For a good burlesque picture of this kind of description see frontispiece to

Whilst from her Eyes those Diamond quarries run,
The teary Streams that Dew'd her Rosal cheeks,
Which as they fell bending to kiss her Lips,
Her sighs drove back, to seek their Grave below.

. . . . . .

The Queen of Sorrow ne'er was Dressed like her,
So beautifull she seem'd, so full of Grace
Amidst her griefs, she might have charm'd a God.

Sorel's *Berger extravagant*. Written on the fly-leaf of the edition before me is the following description:

JOHN BUCKNALL
The Extravagant Sheperd's Rhapsody on his Paragon of Beauty.
See Frontispiece.

How shall I describe my Beauteous Fair,
Net Work, the Tresses of her Silken Hair.
Each Locke, attracting, strongly doth impart
As if from every Plat there hung a Heart.
Upon her forehead is Urchin Cupid's Seat,
Her Eyebrows, like her coral Lips, bid Fools Retreat.
Her killing Eyes, the Radient Sun outshines,
Roses and Lillies on her Cheeks Combines.
Her teeth, like Rows of Precious Pearls appear.
Her Breasts, like Globes, that Monarchs would endear.
Her Balmy Lips enflames the Lovers sign
Her Neck, a Pillar of fairest Ivory
Her Bosom is Love's Paragon to see;
Which draws the Curtain, fringed with Vanity.
Whatever Nature unto Me has freely Giv'n
As free I'd yield, as I received from Heav'n
Her Image is a Pattern for the Lover's Praise.
Oft Flies are Burnt within the Candles blaze
So to Conclude and make the most of Time
Let Critics, feeling Read, and mend the Rhyme.

T. H. THOMPSON

ST. JAMES WESTMINSTER,
J. B. July, 1813

The prologue to Thomas Duffet's *The Empress of Morocco* is a similar burlesque:

As when some dogrel-monger raises
Up Muse, to flatter Doxies praises,
He talks of Gems and Paradises,
Perfumes and Arabian Spices;
Making up Phantastick Posies
Of Eye-lids, Foreheads, Cheeks and Noses,
Calling them Lillies, Pinks and Roses
Teeth Orient Pearl, and Coral Lips are,
Necks Alablaster and Marble Hips are;
Prating of Diamonds, Saphyrs, Rubies,
What a Pudder's with these Boobies?
Dim eyes are Stars, and Red hair's Guinnies:
And thus described by these Ninnies,
As they sit scribbling on Ale-Benches
Are Homely dowdy Country Wenches
So when this Plot quite purged of Ale is,
In naked truth but a plain Tale is;
And in such dress we mean to shew it,
In spight of our damn'd Fustian Poet,
Who has disguis'd it with dull Hist'ri's,
Worse than his Brethren e're did Mistress.

Artaban is a distinct copy of La Calprenède's Artaban. He is invincible and of godlike appearance and demeanor. He has a natural fierceness, which when he is roused to anger strikes terror to the hearts of all who see him. The Queen says,

> Oh Heavens! how he looks, a brave disdain
> Strikes like the Darts of Lightning through his Eyes,[1]

yet "Alinda's name can charm his utmost rage."[2] He is possessed of unbounded self-confidence which results in mighty boasts. He tells Alinda:

> Say, brightest Pattern of the Deities, speak,
> And let me know what Dowries you expect.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Name in what fertile soil you'll have a Throne;
> Be it beyond the *Alps*, or there where runs
> Pactolus Streams oe'r Sands of shining Gold.
> I'll lead my conquering Bands where the bold Foot
> Of Warriour never trod, oe'r Hills of Snow,
> Where Summer's Suns ne'r made a Chearful Day
> Or changing climates farther Eastward go;
> Where Nature in her Fire, expiring lies,
> And the parch'd Earth gapes for a blast of Air:
> May search lost Paradice, and place ye there.[3]

And speaking to Tigranes he says:

> That Life of mine is sacred, placed so high
> In the large Throne of Fame; thy little Arm
> Can never rise to touch it, as well thou mays't
> Great *Jove* in yonder Starry Seat attempt,
> And from his Fellow-Gods, discard him thence,
> Bottle his Winds and stand his Thunder-bolts.

[1] P. 25.

[2] Cf. also p. 28:

> My very Rage luxuriant for thee grown is stopt,
> Like the great Thunderer . . . .
> By a kind Goddess, etc.

[3] P. 15.

The author does not follow La Calprenède's phrasing closely but evidently wrote the play with the romance fresh in his mind, as occasional parallels like the following indicate Artaban being refused Alinda bursts forth:

Neglected Virtue	*Cleopatra*
Act III, scene 1, p. 25	Part I, p. 247
Look o're my Breast, and see the Scars it wears; These Seams torn to defend thy tottering Throne, And tell me, tell me, deluded fearfull King, Have I deserv'd such Infamous returns?	'tis all the fruit I can shew of the scars I wear for you and the unfortunate *Tigranes*, from whose lofty crest I plucked down Victory, to perch her upon your Standards, tumbled him from his Throne

The conversation throughout the rest of this scene has a general resemblance to that in *Cleopatra*.

The style of *Neglected Virtue* has been fairly well indicated by the passages already quoted. In the serious portions of the play the style is that of La Calprenède carried to extremes. It is more flamboyant, more exaggerated, but still hauntingly like La Calprenède's. This is especially noticeable in the numerous figures drawn from Nature, such as the following:

> So have I seen two Sister-Streams that spread,
> Their Silver Currents from one Fountain's Head,
> Kiss, and take each their several way, through all
> The fertile Soyle where their soft Murmurs fall,
> Till having run their Course, they kindly greet,
> And in the Sea, their twin'd Embraces meet.[1]

The following is even more like La Calprenède although I can quote no close parallel (p. 15):

[1] Act II, p. 19. Cf. The lines in *The Rehearsal:* "So boar and sow," etc., a parody on Dryden's "So two fond Turtles," etc.

Close by the Mossy Head of some Sweet Spring,
Whence gentle Streams their murmuring Cadence make
Thro' flowry Meads, Green Lanes, and Whispering Groves.
I'd rather live with thee than in gay Courts,
Those busie Markets of Revenge and Hate.

The Unnatural Brother[1]

Filmer encouraged by the renewal of interest in La Calprenède now tried his hand at a play from this author. He selected for his plot the story of Theander and Alcione from the *Cassandra*. It is interesting chiefly as being the only play based on a minor history from *Cassandra*, all the plays heretofore from *Cassandra* being taken from the principal plot.

Filmer's play was first acted at the Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1697, and published the same year. It met with very poor success and passed from the stage after the third performance. In the preface the author comments on the ill success of the play. On inquiry from his friends he discovers that the faults of the play are:

> That the Play was too grave for the Age, That I had made a choice of too few Persons, and that the Stage was never filled; there seldom appearing above two at a time, and never above three, till the end and winding up of the whole.

He defends the play by appeal to the ancients, continuing:

> These are the mighty faults that have so intirely Damned this Play: and yet if these must be thought faults now in our nicer Age, I am sure they were not thought such heretofore by the Antients; for they generally made use of but few Persons, and never made it any part of their business to fill the stage.

[1] The title-page reads as follows: "The Unnatural Brother. A Tragedy. it was acted by His Majesties Servants, at the Theatre in Little Lincolns-Inn-Fields. London. Printed by J. Orme, for Richard Wilkin, at the Kings-Head in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCXCVII."

Motteux attempted to revive a part of the play in his *Novelty*,[1] the fourth act, called *The Unfortunate Couple*, being a condensation of the last part of Filmer's play with some slight changes. Motteux appears to have selected *The Unnatural Brother* largely for the reason that it had already been studied by the company, and yet he makes bold to praise the play in his preface.

Then I wanted nothing but a Tragedy to have something of every kind [he naïvely explains]. But, as I said already, the best Tragedians were engaged in other Plays. At last I bethought my self of one already studied, called *The Unnatural Brother*, written by an ingenious Gentleman, and acted 6 months ago, tho not with the success it deserved. Yet the latter Part was extremely applauded: So I was perswaded to make bold with it, as I do, with thankful Acknowledgment; but rather, because I could easily contract the most moving Part of the Story into the Compass of one Act, with some Additions; yet without mutilating my Author's Sense, for which I have all the Veneration imaginable.

This presentation evidently met with no better reception than the original, if we may believe Gildon[2] who disposes of it briefly as "The Novelty; every word stolen and then Damned."

The characters in *The Unnatural Brother* with the exception of Leonora correspond closely to those of *Cassandra*. Leonora is original with Filmer. Grammount plays the rôle of Theander, the honest loving husband who is led astray by villains. Montigny takes the part played by Cleonimus in the romance—the friend faithful to the end in spite of everything, Dampierre, La Calprenède's Astiages, and Beaufort, Bagistanes. Filmer departs from the romance, however, in making Dampierre the major villain. In

[1] "The Novelty Every Act a Play Being a Short Pastoral, Comedy, Masque, Tragedy, and Farce after the Italian manner. As it is Acted at the New-Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn-fields. etc. London, 1697."

[2] Charles Gildon, *A Comparison Between the Two Stages*, etc., 1702.

Cassandra Bagistanes is the leading spirit; he it is who through inhuman cunning and bloodthirstiness leads all on to destruction.[1]

The following table will help to keep the reader straight on the relation of the characters in the two accounts:

THE CHARACTERS OF *The Unnatural Brother*	THE CORRESPONDING CHARACTERS in *Cassandra*
Beaufort, Governour of Lyons	*Bagistanes*, Governour of Babylon
Grammount, Nephew to the Governour	*Theander*, Nephew to Bagistanes
Dampierre, Brother to Grammont	*Astiages*, Brother to Theander
Montigny, Friend to Grammount	*Cleonimus*, Friend to Theander
Elvira, Wife to Grammount	*Alcione*, Wife to Theander
Leonora, Sister to Grammount	
Lysette, Woman to Elvira	*A Maid*, Woman to Alcione

Nearly all of the incidents and situations of the play are taken from the romance, as the following comparative lists will show:[2]

[1] There are four wicked brothers in *Cleopatra*, Ptolemey, Artaxes, Adallus, and Phraates, but no one of these appears to have influenced Filmer.

[2] In the preface Filmer acknowledges his indebtedness to the *Cassandra:* "But I had almost forgot to acquaint the Reader with one objection more, against this Play, than what I have mentioned. On the third day, there was a certain Lady in one of the Boxes, who thought she could not more effectually decry it, than by declaring aloud that it was nothing but an old story taken out of *Cassandra*. And I readily grant it: yet can by no means allow that to be a fault. Mr. Dryden has said too much in the defense of such an innocent piece of theft, and extremely well justified the thing, both by his Arguments and Practice. All I desire of that Lady, by way of amends, is, that if ever these Papers have the happiness to reach her hands, she would be pleased to renew her acquaintance with the story of Alcinoe [evidently for *Alcione*] in that Romance, and compare it with this Play: And then I dare be bold to affirm, she will not think me over-much beholding to it: But may perhaps be so charitable, as to entertain a more favourable opinion of the Play, and of the Poet."

The Unnatural Brother	*Cassandra*
1. Beaufort tells Dampierre of his lust for Elvira; they plot to seduce her.	The same.
2. Montigny is beloved by Leonora.	This situation is original with Filmer; there is no Leonora in *Cassandra*.
3. Dampierre interrupts a conversation between Leonora and Elvira in the garden.	Astiages comes upon Alcione in a garden, and presents indecent proposals from Bagistanes.
4. Leonora runs away. Dampierre attempts to ravish Elvira but is prevented by the timely arrival of Montigny.	Bagistanes attempts to ravish Alcione in his treasure chamber but is prevented by the timely arrival of Cleonimus.
5. Dampierre accuses Montigny to Grammount of attempting to ravish Elvira.	The same.
6. Montigny learning of Dampierre's treachery shields him from Grammount because Dampierre is Grammount's brother.	The same.
7. One of Elvira's maids corrupted by Dampierre confesses falsely to tearing up a love note from Elvira to Montigny.	The same.
8. Grammount accuses Elvira of inconstancy; she stabs herself.	The same.
9. Lysette, the maid, confesses to her treachery.	The same.
10. She is poisoned by Dampierre.	Not in the romance.
11. Grammount stabs himself and dies.	The same.
12. Elvira dies.	Alcione recovers.
13. Dampierre is condemned to die by torture.	Not in the romance.
14. Beaufort retires to a hermitage.	Not in the romance.

Although Filmer thus faithfully renders La Calprenède's account, he does not slavishly follow his phrasing. At no point has he taken passages word for word, although in some cases he has paraphrased closely. It appears that the story in the romance was fresh in his mind, but he certainly did not work with the pages of *Cassandra* open before him. A few passages will serve to show to what extent he depended upon his source:

The Unnatural Brother	*Cassandra*
Act IV, p. 35	Pp. 229+
The scene is before Grammount's house. The stage directions read:	When he was close by his own house, he by the light of a Torch which one of his servants carried before him, saw one of the maids come out, ...
Enter Grammount and a page before him with a Flambeau. A noise of opening a door and Lysette enters who seeing Grammount pretends to avoid him. He stops her and turning up her hood sees her tearing a Letter with her Teeth.	O gods! (said she) I am undone, and at the same time, she tore a Paper which she had in her hand, and thrust the pieces hastily into her mouth.
Gram. Hah! Who art thou that stealest Away so guiltily?	(Theander speaks)
Nay, I must see, *Lysette!*	Whither goest thou and whither wert thou carrying that paper which I saw thee tear just now?
Whither away at this unseasonable time of night,	. . . . .
And what paper's that thou Mumblest so?	Ah; Sir (said she) I beseech you pardon me; and repeating those words twice or thrice, she appeared to be strucken with so great an astonishment that *Theander's* was redoubled by it. Speak (said he) and if thou wilt have me pardon thee confess thy fault to me presently.
Lyset. Alas! I am undone, Pardon me; sir,	
Oh Pardon me I beseech you.	
Gram. Would'st have me pard'n thee e're I know thy fault,	
Confess, and then perhaps thou mays't deserve it.	
Lyset. Oh never, never, all that I desire,	

The Unnatural Brother

Is that you would be so just, as to believe
Me only guilty, for on my life My Lady's innocent.
Gram. Hah! thy Lady, speak, what of her?
Lyset. Why, she I do declare to all the world
Is innocent, by all that's good she is,
Nay were I to die next minute,
My Tongue should end my story with that truth.
Gram. I ask not of her innocence, but tell me,
And tell me truely, as thou hop'st for any
Mercy from me, whither wert thou
Stealing with that Letter, and what
Were the contents of it?
Lyset. For Heaven sake, and for your own, Sir,
Press me no further, here on my knees
I beg you would not.
Gram. Ha! Do'st thou dally with me?
Come, speak quickly, or by heaven thou diest.
Lyset. Do with me what you please,
But force me not, I do beseech you,
To a Confession that—
Gram. What! Speak I say, tell me,

Cassandra

That subtil wench wiping her eyes, and seeming to tremble, Ah! Sir, (reply'd she) my obedience is guilty, but yet both my Lady, and I are more innocent in effect than in appearance, and if I tore this letter, it was my fear that made me imprudently commit that fault. But from whom, and to whom wert thou carrying it, demanded *Theander* hastily?

The Unnatural Brother	*Cassandra*
What was that Paper, to whom directed, And from whom?	
Lyset. Alas I die for fear.	
Gram. If thou continuest obstinate, Not all the world shall save thee from my Fury.	
Lyset. It was —	
Gram. What was it, speak I say?	My Lady (answered she) sent it to Cleonimus.
Lyset. It was a Letter —	
Gram. From whom?	
Lyset. It was a Letter from my Lady —	
Gram. Well said, to whom?	
Lyset. To — Yet, Sir, excuse me I conjure you.	
Gram. Hah more trifling, out with it boldly, or —	
Lyset. 'Twas to *Montigny*, Sir, Your best, and dearest friend, *Montigny.*	*Theander* quite confounded, or rather quite beside himself, eyeing the wench from head to foot, Did *Alcione* (said he) send thee to *Cleonimus* at this time of the night and in the dark as I met thee?
Gram. To *Montigny!* Was it to *Montigny*, that *Elvira* sent thee With that Letter at this unseasonable hour?[1]	

THE DEATH SCENE, A.V.

The Unnatural Brother, p. 44	*Cassandra*, P. 232
Gram. (*To Elvira*) No, fear not too hasty, or too hard A sentence from my mouth. False as thou art,	[*Thea.*] Fear not any worse usage from my resentment than what you have already received; my grief may well send me to my grave, but it

[1] In Lee's *Cæsar Borgia* there is a similar incident.

The Unnatural Brother

I cannot hate, where once I loved so well.
Live then *Elvira* live long, but live a
Stranger to *Grammount*. And that thou may'st live
Happily, wipe from thy memory the
Dearest passages of some few past years,
And see thou quite forget, there ere was such
A wretch i'th world as I am.
(After both have stabbed themselves)

P. 49

Elv. Oh my *Grammount!*
My love can pardon thee anything,
Yet 't was unkind, to give me thus
A second wound, a wound more grievous
To the poor *Elvira*, than the first
Which gave her death.

Cassandra

shall never make me injure her I have too dearly and too perfectly loved . . . . live without my friendship

P. 233

[*Alc.*] *Theander*, dear cruel *Theander*, was not my death painful enough, without your making it a thousand times more sensible, by being guilty of yours?

It is easy to understand the ill success of *The Unnatural Brother*. The play has no snap or vim; from start to finish the action drags along at an intolerably slow pace. Where the situations demand swift, incisive action, there are to be found needless explanation and philosophical digressions. Grammount near the close of the play facing the destruction of his home, speaks thus:

> What is that thing call'd Happiness, which Men
> With so much noise and eager zeal pursue

So many several ways, each hoping to
Attain it in the possession of some
Distant longed-for Blessing, tho' all alike
In vain? For even that darling Blessing
Plac'd in a nearer light, and once enjoy'd,
Loses but too much of its wonted lustre;
Or else, encounter'd with rude Crosses from
Abroad, is lost and buried in a thick
And dismal Cloud of rank uneasie Cares.
There's no such thing then as a happy man
On this side of the Grave. Look on me, all
You vain Pretenders, look on me, and own
At last this Truth; for all the dearest Joys
Of Life did seem to court and flatter me:
Yet all those Joys are in one moment dampt,
All vanisht, all lost to me for ever.[1]

There is little bombast; the blank verse, although prosy, carries the thought simply and with considerable dignity. Figures of speech are not numerous, although occasionally outbursts like the following occur:

Elvira: From those dark Clouds which in thy Face appear,
My boading heart foretells a rising Storm
Of grief within thy Breast, speak, my Grammount,
What ruder cares, to thy Elvira yet
Unknown, sit heavy on thy drooping Soul?[2]

and again:

Honour! thou strange fantastick airy thing,
Thou losing bargain to the bravest Souls,
Thou easie purchase, costly to maintain,
Thou cloke to bold ambition's restless hopes;
No more, to thy capricious humours will
I blindly bow, nor court thee as a slave.[3]

But in the main the style is not ornate nor unpleasing. Like the action of the play it is plodding, unexciting, colorless.

[1] Act V, p. 41. [2] Act I, p. 8. [3] Act I, p. 9.

THE DECLINE OF THE HEROIC STYLE

In 1702 Mr. Betterton addressed an audience at the New Theatre in Lincolns Inn Fields in the following words:

An Ancient Poet will appear to Night,
Rais'd from Elysium to the Realms of Light.
The softest Charmer of a Charming Age,
Assumes the Buskin and ascends the Stage,
To move your passions and your Hearts engage.
But oh! How hardly will he reach his Aim,
When Love and Honour are his only Theme?
There was a time, when all those Passions felt,
And soothing Bards could stubborn Heroes melt.
An Amorous Monarch fill'd a peaceful Throne,
And laughing Cupids Perch'd upon his Crown.
Still in some Breasts the British Spirit rose
Which scorns all chains but what the Fair impose.
Then Altemira might have hop'd Success,
A tender Audience sharing her Distress.
Then Heroes, govern'd by severer Rules,
Had not been laugh'd at for Romantick Fools,
But in this Iron-Age your Souls to move,
In vain we try by Honour or by Love.
The certain way to please your Vitious Tast,
Are Streams of Blood and Volleys of Bombast.
Dancers and Tumblers now the Stage Prophane,
Musick and Farce alone our Plays sustain,
And Art and Nature leave the trifling Scene.[1]

The complaint was not a new one. In 1668 Edward Howard[2] bewails the prevalence of farce, and heroic plays:

Works that have their measures adorned with Trappings of Rhime, which how'ere they have succeeded in wit or design, is still thought musick, as the Heroick Tone now goes.

The other extream which deserves some Reflection; and which far more debases the Dignity of the Stage, is that of Farce or

[1] Prologue by Henry St. John, Esq., prefaced to Charles Boyle's revision of Roger Boyle's *Altemira*, London, 1702.

[2] In a preface to *The Usurper*, London, 1668. (The play was licensed August 2, 1667.)

Scommatick Plays, which have so tickled some late Audiences, with I know not what kind of Jollity, that true Comedy is fool'd out of Countenance, and instead of Humor and wit (the Stages most Legitimate issue) leaves it to the inheritance of Changlings. No less Articke seems to many, the wresting in of Dances, when unnatural and improper to the business of the Scene and Plot, as if by an unintelligible Charm of their Muses, the Actors were like Fairies conjur'd up, that the play might vanish in a Dance.

Nearly every preface or prologue to heroic play or tragedy during the Restoration period contains some fling at farces and light comedy. During the early part of the period the extreme types—the farces and heroic plays were the most popular both appealing to the eye and ear through the interspersion of songs and spectacles. Those who professed to write true comedy attacked the heroic play and the farces. Roger Boyle in *Mr. Anthony* wrote:

> The way to please you is easie if we knew't
> A Jigg, a Song, a Rhime or two will do't
> Damn'd Plays shall be adorn'd with mighty Scenes,
> And Fustian shall be spoke in huge machines;
> And we will purling Streams and Fire-works show.[1]

In 1680 Dryden wrote in a prologue to Tates' *Loyal General:*

> The Plays that take on our Corrupted Stage,
> Methinks resemble the distracted Age;
> Noise, Madness, all unreasonable Things,
> That strike at Sense, as Rebels do at Kings!
> The stile of Forty One our Poets write,
> And you are grown to judge like Forty Eight.
> Such Censures our mistaking Audience make,
> That 'tis almost grown Scandalous to Take!
> They talk of Feavours that infect the Brains,
> But Non-sence is the new Disease that reigns.
> Weak Stomacks with a long Disease opprest,

[1] Licensed August 27, 1689; published, 1690; the quotation is from the Epilogue.

Cannot the Cordials of strong Wit digest:
Therefore thin Nourishment of Farce ye choose,
Decoctions of a Barly-water Muse:
A Meal of Tragedy wou'd make ye Sick,
Unless it were a very tender Chick.
Some Scenes in Sippets wou'd be worth our time,
Those wou'd go down; some Love that's poach'd in Rime; etc.

Mrs. Behn who had written in 1677 (cf. Prologue and the Epilogue to *The Rover*, 1677 ed.):

In short the only Witt that's now in Fashion,
Is but the gleanings of good Conversation.
Oh, Sir, in my young days, what lofty Wit,
What high strain'd Scenes of Fighting there were writ

in 1687 (Prologue to the *Emperor of the Moon*, 1687 ed.) complains:

Long and at vast Expence the industrious Stage
Has strove to please a dull ungrateful Age:
With Hero's and with Gods we first began
And thunder'd to you in Heroick Strain.
Some dying Love-sick Queen each Night you injoy'd,
And with Magnificence, at last were cloy'd:
Our Drums and Trumpets frighted all the Women;
Our fighting scar'd the Beaux and Billet Deux Men.
So Spark in an Intrigue of Quality,
Grows weary of his splendid Drudgery;
Hates the Fatigue, and cries a Pox upon her,
What a damn'd bustle's here with Love and Honour.

In 1698 Motteux wrote:

I have no reason to complain of the reception which this Tragedy met with, tho it appeared first at a time not very favorable to Composures of this kind, and divested of all things that now recommend a Play most to the Liking of the Many. For it has no Singing, no Dancing, no mixture of Comedy, no Mirth, no change of Scene, no rich Dresses, no Show, no Rants, no Similes, no Battle, no Killing on the Stage, no Ghost, no Prodigy; and what's yet more, no Smut, no Profaneness, nor Immorality.[1]

[1] Preface to *Beauty in Distress*, a Tragedy, London, 1698.

David Craufurd in the Epilogue to *Love at First Sight* (published London, 1704) wrote:

> Well Sirs—you now expect an Epilogue,
> But this same Bard of ours is such a Rogue,
> I durst have Sworn he was possess'd to day,
> No Rhimes he cry'd no, not to save my play;
> I ask'd his Reason why? 'Sdeath Sir, quoth he,
> Go but to Drury-Lane, and there you'll see,
> Gay Decorations to Amuse the Town,
> While parting Lovers do their Fate bemoan;
> And Hug, and Sigh, and Weep, and Sob alone,
> Wax Tapers, Gaudy Cloaths, rais'd Prizes too,
> Yet even the Play thus Garnish'd wou'd not do:
> So Poysonous Druggs, by Empericks gilded are,
> So Strumpets varnish o're Unwholsome Ware.
> While you with Negligence my Muse receive
> And but a slender Entertainment give,
> But look you Sir, Said I, the Case is plain,
> You have no Pompous Lines to swell the Scene;
> As the last Poet did in Drury-Lane,
> No Angels Wings, to sprout where Serpents grew,
> No Hills, nor Dales, nor Groves of Lovely Hue,
> No Vehicles with Milk white Steed's so rare,
> So Beautiful so sweet or Debonair,
> With Royal Innocence they may Compare,
> No Perfumes, Rocks, not Grots;—and so forth, Sir.

The writers of farces were pretty well content with their own success and paid little attention to the attacks of the writers more seriously inclined. There are, however, a few direct attacks or replies; and once in a while there appeared a satire or burlesque of the heroic style. The use of rhyme in tragedy was, of course, attacked by writers who approved the other features of the heroic play. Robert Howard who had assisted Dryden in *The Indian Queen* opposed Dryden's contention for rhyme,[1] in the preface to

[1] Cf. Dedicatory letter prefaced to *The Rival Ladies*, 1664.

Foure New Plays; Dryden replied to this in his *Essay of Dramatic Poetry*, 1668; Howard answered in the preface to the *Great Favourite*, 1668; and Dryden closed the debate in his *Defence of an Essay, etc.*, prefaced to the second edition of *The Indian Emperor*, 1668.[1]

Edward Howard in *The Women's Conquest*,[2] wrote in 1671:

Verse that ends in Rhime is generally now the Mode of Heroick Plays, but whether so natural and proper, I will not controvert, otherwise then by declaring my opinion, that I like it not so well as I do Verse without it, and I conceive I have reason enough on my side; for who can believe that words must not of necessity lose much of their grace, and emphasis, when delivered in Rhime, which limits so much of both to it self"; etc. through several pages.[3]

Satires and burlesques of the heroic style appeared from time to time.[4] One of these we might note in passing, a burlesque of Alexander's speech in the closing scene of Lee's *Rival Queens*.[5] This was written by Thomas Durfey and prefixed to the 1693 edition of *The Richmond Heiress* under the heading of a "Song, by way of Dialogue between a *Mad-man* and a *Mad-woman*":

He: Behold the Man that with Gigantick might
Dares Combat Heaven again;

[1] Cf. D. of N.B., under Robt. Howard.

[2] *The Womens Conquest:* A Tragi-Comedy, London, 1671.

[3] Cf. also Lord John Caryll's *Sir Solomon*, 1671: "There is more Wit in this Dance than in a dozen of your modern Plays: they with their gingle of Rhime and Playing with Words, go just like the Chimes of St. Bart'elmy: and please the Ladies ears, but effect not the understanding at all." And William Joyner in *The Roman Empress*, 1671, speaks slurringly of the "gingling Antithesis of Love and Honour."

[4] One of the earliest and most famous of the burlesques was *The Rehearsal*, satirizing especially *The Conquest of Granada*, and also *Marriage à la Mode*, *Love in a Nunnery*, *Tyrannic Love*, *The Maiden Queen*, *The Wild Gallant*, *The Amorous Prince*, *The Villain*, etc. In France numerous satirical dramas had been written; the most famous of these was Molière's *Les précieuses ridicules*, 1659; this was leveled especially against Scudéry's *Clélie*.

[5] Cf. above, p. 122.

Storm *Jove's* bright Palace, put the Gods to flight,
Chaos renew, and make perpetual Night.
Come on ye fighting Fools, that petty Jars maintain
I've all the War of *Europe* in my Brain.

She: Who's he that talks of War,
When Charming Beauty comes:
Within whose Face divinely fair,
Eternal Pleasure blooms
When I appear the Martial God,
A Conquer'd Victim lies,
Obeys each Glance, each awful Nod,
And fears the Lightning of my killing Eyes,
More than the fiercest Thunder in the Skies.

He: Now, now, we mount up high,
The Suns bright God and I,
Charge on the Azure downs of ample Sky.
See, see, how the Immortal Cowards run:
Pursue, pursue, drive o'er the Burning Zone:
From thence come rowling down,
And search the Globe below with all the gulphy Main,
To find my lost, my wandring Sense again.

By the end of the century the heroic romance had run its course. In the early part of the eighteenth century the romances were still read[1] and there are references to them occasionally in plays.[2] But they belonged to the past; the people were getting tired of Artabans and Statiras, and awakening to an interest in people and affairs less remotely connected with their daily life.

[1] Cf. Addison, *Spectator*.

[2] Cf. Steele's *Tender Husband*.

3 2044 019 324 185

A FINE IS INCURRED IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW.

WIDENER BOOK DUE MAY 1 9 1984

JUL 2 6 1974 H

4572656

CANCELLED JUL 25 1974

WIDENER BOOK DUE APR 1 9 1984

CANCELLED

CA ASTALL STUDY CHARGE